175

[Since much of Tongan history is based on their own detailed oral accounts, see Category 173 for further historical information.]

The area of
Tongatabu, however, probably does not exceed 150 square miles, which on 161
the basis of full-blooded Tongan population, in 1921, gives the average of 65 162
individuals to the square mile, a number probably sufficient for communica- [131]
tion in the traditional way, if the bulk of the population fringed the ancient [491]
highway which ran from end to end of the island. It should be borne in [361]
mind that the ancient population lived largely on farms rather than in villages. [764]
Ancient burials are to-day found in the bush where farms once flourished.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 297) mentions an assemblage at an entertainment 175
on Tongatabu Island, concerning which "some of us computed, that, at this 161
time, there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people, in our neigh- 162
borhood; that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the most part, by mere curiosity." Providing the total is not overestimated, this statement would seem at first glance to indicate a larger population for Tongatabu Island than that of the present day. But many people from neighboring islands of Tongatabu and from Haapai and Vavau were doubtless present. In reference to the population of the islands near Tongatabu in 1797 the following quotation from Wilson (65, p. 95) is pertinent: "Passing to the northward of Eoo-âije, we steered W.S.W. to the entrance, then W. by S. and W. up the harbour, followed by the above canoe and several others, which put off from the eastern part of the main island and the islets that lie scattered upon the reef."

The statement of Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 246) that "at least three thousand people" assembled at the entertainments on Lifuka Island indicates a population in 1777 no greater than in 1909 when Lifuka and the neighboring islands Foa and Haano had a population of 3,565. With the rest of Haapai to draw upon as well, a crowd of three thousand people might be assembled readily enough. Cook's description of the island of Mango suggests that the population in 1777 did not much exceed the population of 42 individuals in 1906 and it is of interest to note that he found Uoleva Island, just south of Lifuka, as destitute of inhabitants as it is to-day.

The grouping of people in villages and the consequent desertion of farms 175
as residences has taken place probably since 1773, when Cook (18, vol. 1, 162
p. 213) described the country as follows: 361

> The produce and cultivation of this isle [Eua] is the same as at Amsterdam [311]
> [Tongatabu]; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas
> the whole of the latter is. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out [491]
> in so judicious a manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires; they
> are neatly constructed, but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of 342
> which they are built, are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the 175
> framing is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and
> covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on [352]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7]

> the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, 175
> which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy 342
> perfumes the very air in which they breathe. [352] [351]

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw
it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words: 175 361

> We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with 311
> various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around.
> Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow;
> and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and,
> yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered [643]
> with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told,
> belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance [491]
> of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. [487]

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua 175
(the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal 361
chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the
Tui Tonga.

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although 491 doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms.

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tongatabu as follows: 175

> As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, 175
> which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. 133
> The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore;
> and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared 175
> to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees 311
> . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed 361
> over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains.

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

> In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, [417]
> the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the
> middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha* [245]
> *umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a [417]
> small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief
> lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it. [764]
>
> We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with [622]
> palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King [491]
> Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . .
>
> We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain 175
places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled 361 797

Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries 175
(60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country 361
they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little [797]
cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385). [311]

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and [712]
the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) [721]
from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages,
all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo,* though none are
fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous. [172]

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared completely 361
with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless
persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the [795]
copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life. [439]

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, [162]
Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme
of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure
from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These 361
large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. 621
Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred
headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller [602]
villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another [178]
by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from
the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu
Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this
hamlet in 1920 are given below.

House 1

1. Kula, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead. 361 621
2. Fatai, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1. 592
3. Maria, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at once to Siesia to live. 602
4. Solomon Tanaki, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. Taani, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. Mary Anna, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. Mili, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. Latu, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins. [601]
9. Mary, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

The principal immigration from Samoa apparently took place just before 167
the establishment of Ngata as the first Tui Kanokupolu, probably in the latter 173
half of the sixteenth century. There have been considerable influxes of Samoans both before and since. Krämer (36) cites migrations from the time of the twelfth Tui Tonga on. (See, for instance, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 468.)

Concerning immigrants from the Cook Islands, Tongan sources are silent except for some Mangaians (25, p. 154) in Christian times. Dillon (20, vol. 1, p. 271) mentions five castaways from Aitutaki.

There is said to be a considerable number of people of Rotuman descent in Tongatabu. According to the following tale the title of Maafu Tukuiaulahi was held for a time by a Rotuman and, presumably, his descendants:

> One day Maafu of Vaini dug a big hole after a rat. As he went down he saw eight rat tails. Maafu then looked up and saw a little boy at the top of the hole. He adopted the boy and named him Ikuvalu (Eight Tails). The boy was from Rotuma. After Maafu died, the boy became Maafu. This is why the descendants of Maafu are called the Kau Lotuma. The descendants of Ikuvalu are no longer Maafu, however. The present holder is of the old Maafu line.

Even Tahitians may have been absorbed into the Tongan population, for Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 313) saw at Mua, the carved head of a Tahitian vessel which had been driven ashore.

EMIGRATION

The Tongans extended their influence to other islands. They had estab- 167
lished their sovereignty in Samoa, Futuna, Rotuma, and Uvea, for tribute 173
mainly—but many of the Tongans seem to have married Samoans, and even 175
the Tui Tonga had official residences on Upolu and Savaii. Presumably 648
no Tui Tonga resided in Samoa after the expulsion of Talakaifaiki (about 1250). However, in 1616 Schouten and Lemaire (65, p. lviii) encountered in Futuna "a person bearing the title of Latoo, and by another styled Areekee, who was probably the sovereign of all the Friendly Islands." This
person was probably the Tui Tonga's viceroy or tribute collector. As 167
late as 1824, Rotuma was still paying tribute to Tonga, for Dillon (20, vol. 173
1, p. 295) relates: 175
648
651

> On my old friend, Tuckeafinawa [Fakafanua], the high priest and chief of Mafanga, hearing mention made of Rothuma, inquired if I intended to call there: to which I replied in the affirmative. He then informed me that the priests of that island were tributary to his district, and that about three years ago he sent his eldest son with three large canoes to collect the tribute, from whence he had not since returned; that he was fearful he and his men had offended the gods and were cast away at sea, either going to or returning from Rothuma.

The establish-
ments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually 592
kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within [622]
the chief's enclosure. [602]

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even [565]
though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for 582
cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in 593
general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) men- 592
tions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: 565

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *táboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. 586
Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a 581
word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women. 192

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal sur- 551
names. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan [178]
government college, where young men are registered with their fathers'
names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but [124]
state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) 888
compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti: 175
171

> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the 171 175 888
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have 582
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, 595
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond 622
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of 684
> Tibo Moomöoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman 847
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at 855
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo 888
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less 241
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more gen- 276
erally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." 562

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 591
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her 784
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- 582
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman 607
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and 602
further removed from the patriarchal head of the family, as represented 554
by a continuous line of successive eldest sons. The Prince Consort Tungi 565
emphasized that there are no commoners in the absolute sense of the word.

In Tongan society there is but one chief of a group at a time, a title 622
being held by but one individual and dual chiefs being unknown. It is 554
inconceivable that two brothers could be simultaneously chiefs of equal rank.

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

The head of the family is usually a man, the oldest male. The designation 592
for him is *ulumotua* (ancestor), although one informant gave the word *pule* (ruler). Upon his death the *ulumotua* is succeeded by his younger brother or his oldest child (son or daughter). It is said that sometimes the brother and oldest son cooperate in supervising the family. There seems to have been no family council to select a new head. Everyone knew who was next in rank and he automatically succeeded to the position upon the death of the patriarch of the family. It was stated that the *ulumotua* might dispose of family property or the property of individuals if he saw fit. It is
likely, too, that he held the lives of family members in his hands. The [175]
sacrifice of one of the younger sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui in 1797 [782]
by Tukuaho, an older son, would seem to point to this. [644]

The *ulumotua* was sometimes a woman. Thus the sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho is the head of the family of these lords of Tungua Island and of Haa Teiho in Tongatabu Island. She was *ulumotua* also during her brother's life time. Undoubtedly personality plays a prominent part in determining whether a man or his sister controls the family. The sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho impressed me forcibly as an individual of pleasing yet resourceful character. To the present Tui Haa Teiho she is *mehekitanga* (paternal aunt), and to her, therefore, he owes the greatest respect.

Upon the death of her father, this woman became *ulumotua* to her brothers 596
and younger sister and to her father's younger brother's children. Her brothers' and sisters' children and grandchildren all look up to her as family matriarch (more correctly "female patriarch"), as do also her cousins through her father, except the children of her father's sister (*mehekitanga*) who are her superiors in rank. The children of her mother's brothers and sisters are also under her jurisdiction. All of these constitute the family
of which this woman is the head. Needless to say, they are not all of one [613]
lineage, for lineages in Tonga are patrilineal.

Another example came to my notice in 1920 in the island of Foa, [604]
Haapai, where a Mrs. Goedicke, Tongan wife of a Caucasian and sister of Job Helu, mayor of the village of Lotofoa, controlled the destinies of her brother's children by virtue of being their paternal aunt and *ulumotua*.

As the lineages (*haa*) are patrilineal, a *fahu* usually does not belong to 604
the lineage in which he exercises his right. In Cook's time (1777) the 613
Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, of the Haa Fale Fisi, was *fahu* to the Tui Tonga
Pau, as was also Latunipulu's sister the Tamaha Moungalakepa. Cook 175
(19, vol. 1, p. 414) says of Latunipulu: "Latooliibooloo assumed the privilege 604
of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king." 613
Speaking of Latunipulu's little son in Eua, he says: "The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little Tammaha was."

Although the *fahu* owes his position primarily to his mother, nevertheless 604
the *fahu* whose father is a great chief wields greater influence than 593
the *fahu* whose father is a petty chief or commoner, even if the mother of 554
each *fahu* is of exalted rank.

It is quite possible that cross-cousin marriage in Tonga is genetically 604
connected with the *fahu* concept, for it is usually the mother's brother's 582
daughter whom a man marries. In other words, he may make demand in his capacity of *fahu*.

ADOPTION

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children 597
are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particularly 604
children are adopted by aunts. Tongan genealogies give examples of children adopted by their paternal aunt (*mehekitanga*), such a child being called *"koe tama to he mehekitanga."* (For an example see 26, p. 146.) In general, a child adopted by a woman is known as her "child to her husband."

The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child 597
is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who 593
adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is [784]
still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards [604]
her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.

According to the high chief Ata of Tongatabu, an adopted son may supersede a real son as heir to the father's title. Ata (who was childless) stated that if he and his wife were to adopt the wife's brother's son, that
individual would become his heir even though he had an older son. It is [553]
seldom that a child receives his father's name, but it is customary to give an adopted son the name of his adoptive father.

Adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is 597
taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality. So well established [609]
is the custom that even today Europeans are adopted in much the manner

ANCIENT LINEAGES

The fact that most of the modern lineages do not antedate 1600 in their 613 traditional origins causes speculation as to what the lineages were before 175 that date. That there were earlier lineages seems without a shadow of doubt, for it seems inconceivable that lineages suddenly originated with the assassination of Takalaua in the fifteenth century. Moreover, the apparently transient character of the modern lineages, which obviously depend upon the political prestige of their heads, makes it all the more apparent that there must have been similar groups before 1450. A traditionally older lineage is the Haa Talafale. Perhaps more ancient is the Haa Vaipoa, reputed to antedate the Tui Tonga's control of the Vavau group. This *haa* seems to be without members to-day. Its god was probably Mahina, who went from [776] Vavau to Tongatabu with water in his mouth, which he dropped at Tufumahina.

Tongan place names seem to offer a clue to the ancient lineages. Of place 103 names recorded, 284 begin with the stem *haa*, the term used in designating 613 the several great modern lineages. (See 25, pp. 77-89.) Although to-day 174 these names refer only to places and not to people, it is conceivable that they once referred to the people who lived in these places. This view is strengthened when it is noted that several of the place names refer to ancient chiefs and are thus comparable to the modern lineage names. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho stated that most of the tracts which formerly belonged to the Tui Tonga had names beginning with the stem *haa*.

Among other things, the place names refer to bodily peculiarities (Haaila, 103 family or lineage with a mark on the body; Haamotuavae, family of the 613 big toe), to occupations (Haafata, family of bearers; Haafetuku, family 174 of carriers; Haafeuni, family of weavers; Haafota, family of masseurs), and to plants and animals (Haahenga, family of the parrakeet; Haakaho, family of the reeds; Haakulu, family of the *kulu* trees; Haalai, family of the *lai* fish.) These plant and animal names suggest a former totemism, but [825] more likely refer to the plant or animal sacred to the god of the lineage: an [776] assumption in accord with the modern lineages, which had patron deities and sacred animals, although there was no belief in descent from animals.

The multiplicity of these supposed lineages revealed by place names makes it likely that the ancient lineages comprised much smaller numbers of people than the few lineages to-day. On the other hand, granting that the place names do stand for ancient lineages, it is unlikely that they were all contemporaneous. Doubtless old ones died out, or were submerged by changing political fortunes, and new ones arose, just as the most powerful modern lineages have arisen within the last three centuries.

THE KINGSHIP

Tui Vakano, the late premier of Tonga, briefly characterized for me the 643
three great lines of chiefs of Tonga as follows: 793

> The Tui Tonga were the spiritual rulers of the country and did not interest themselves with the ordinary government of the country. Their persons were sacred to such an extent that they were almost worshipped as gods. Only a special few and foreigners were allowed to associate with them.
>
> The Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu were from the same origin [as 643
> the Tui Tonga]. When the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua disappeared the Tui Kanokupolu became the rulers of the people and looked after the country.

Tui Vakano uses the term "spiritual" in much the same sense as many 643
Caucasians who have written on Tonga. I do not think the term is justified. 793
That the Tui Tonga was the most exalted of the male chiefs of the country there can be no doubt; that he was a spiritual ruler in the same sense as the Pope or the Dalai Lama is untrue.

Williamson (64, vol. 1, chapt. 4) discusses at length the published evi- 643
dence concerning the origin and extent of the authority exercised by the three lines of rulers: Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu. That the Tui Tonga was the highest in rank cannot be doubted. That he lost in power and influence as the other lines gained is obvious from the traditional history of Tonga, as well as from the observations of voyagers.

It is not my aim to review the published materials, but rather to present what little new data I have gathered, and to clarify, with the aid of genealogies, some of the disputed points as to succession and interrelations between the three houses.

My view of the interrelations of the three ruling lines is briefly as fol- 643
lows. The Tui Tonga exercised full sovereignty until the Fifteenth Century 175
when Kauulufonua I, following the assassination of at least three kings, introduced the innovation of a subsidiary ruler, the Tui Haa Takalaua, who was to act as a buffer between the Tui Tonga and the people and to whom were delegated the more arduous duties of the kingship. Already when this innovation was made, Tongan power in western Polynesia was waning. That the Tui Haa Takalaua was expected to function principally in Tongatabu seems likely, for at the same time were appointed governors for the other parts of the kingdom who would seem to have been directly responsible to the Tui Tonga, not to the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early part of the Seventeenth Century the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga appointed one of his sons to the position of Tui Kanokupolu, presumably creating the position for him, just as the Tui Tonga had earlier created the position of Tui Haa Takalaua. The new line of chieftains proved a powerful one which gradually eclipsed the Tui Haa Takalaua and ultimately, in 1865, the Tui Tonga. The Tui Tonga genealogies show clearly the decline of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu.

From early times it evidently had been the custom for the Tui Tonga to 643
take as his principal wife the daughter of some powerful chief; thus the 195
daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were married by a few Tui Tonga. 581
Then they drop from view and thereafter the Tui Tonga takes as his chief wife a daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, apparently thereby acknowledging the superiority of the Tui Kanokupolu over the Tui Haa Takalaua.

THE MALE TUI TONGA

SEQUENCE OF THE TUI TONGA

With the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, December 175
9, 1865, the sway of the so-called "priest-kings" of Tonga came to an end. 643
No successor to Laufilitonga was appointed, but the office was absorbed by 173
the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I Tupou. The traditional founder of the dynasty was Ahoeitu, who probably came into power some time in the tenth century.

It should be borne in mind, however, that if tradition is to be relied upon the Ahoeitu dynasty of kings was preceded by an earlier dynasty (26, p. 38): "This world was first inhabited by the offspring of the worm, and Kohai was first made Tui Tonga of the world. And his people were dwelling there [in Tonga]."

Williamson (64, vol. 1, pp. 136-137, 139) interprets Bastian (4, p. 296) as indicating six kings preceding Ahoeitu, but if my interpretation of the Tongan is correct, Bastian lists but one, namely Kohai as may be seen from the following translation of the Tongan story referred to by Williamson.

> The first land of Tonga was Ata [island] and the first plant was a *fue* with two branches, and came down Tangaloa and tore it in two and the root of the *fue* rotted, and developed an animal, and came a plover and pecked, and arose from it a pair of men who were brothers, and a [the part] of the animal was cast off by the plover, and it became Momo, which are the three that arose from the animal, and the meaning of Momo is
>
> The crumbs [momo] of the animal
> And the first Tui Tonga was Kohai
> The man who originated from the *fue* plant.

(See also Collocott, 8, p. 237.)

The list of Tui Tonga (dynasty of Ahoeitu), given below is regarded 175
by me as correct. It is the result of the careful comparison of material from 173
six sources: (a) A list obtained from Tongavalevale and recorded by 643
Father Francis Xavier Reiter (33, vol. 5, pp. 45, 46), referred to as the 127
Catholic Mission list; (b) A manuscript written by Anthony Uhatafe of Mua, Tongatabu, a member of a family which furnished ceremonial attendants to the Tui Tonga; (c) A list published by the late King George II (35, vol. 1, No. 1, [5], p. 8); (d) A list recorded by J. E. Moulton (34)

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and reproduced by Tregear (58, p. 670); (e) A list given to Shirley W. 175
Baker by King George I Tupou in 1862. and made available by Miss Beat- 643
rice Shirley Baker; (f) A partial list in the genealogical records in the 173
possession of the present ruler of Tonga, Queen Charlotte Tupou, recorded [127]
by the Tamaha Amelia in 1844.

Bastian (4, p. 296) gives a list of the Tui Tonga which ends with Telea and otherwise differs radically from all other lists. Williamson suggests that Bastian received his list from Shirley W. Baker, but the list given me by Miss Baker is quite unlike that published by Bastian. With these doubts in mind I have refrained from attempting a correlation.

List of the Tui Tonga, Dynasty of Ahoeitu

[551]

1 **Ahoeitu.** About 950
2 **Lolofakangalo**
3 **Fangaoneone**
4 **Lihau**
5 **Kofutu**
6 **Kaloa**
7 **Mauhau**
8 **Apuanea**
9 **Afulunga**
10 **Momo**
11 **Tuitatui.** About 1200.
12 **Talatama**
13 **Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou**
14 **Talaihaapepe**
15 **Talakaifaiki.** About 1250.
16 **Talafapite**
17 **Tui Tonga Maakatoe**
18 **Tui Tonga Puipui**
19 **Havea I**
20 **Tatafueikimeimua**
21 **Lomiaetupua**
22 **Havea II**
23 **Takalaua.** About 1450.
24 **Kauulufonua I.** About 1470.
25 **Vakafuhu**
26 **Puipuifatu**
27 **Kauulufonua II**
28 **Tapuosi**
29 **Uluakimata I (Telea)**
30 **Fatafehi**
31 **Kauulufonua III.** King in 1643.
32 **Uluakimata II**
33 **Tui Pulotu I**
34 **Fakanaanaa**
35 **Tui Pulotu II**
36 **Pau.** King in 1770. Died about 1784.
37 **Maulupekotofa.** Died in 1806.
38 **Fuanunuiava.** Died in 1810.
39 **Laufilitonga.** Died in 1865.

From Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, to Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, was 35 generations. The succession from father to son seems to have been unbroken except at three points. Talatama, the twelfth Tui Tonga, seems to have had no son and was consequently succeeded by his brother Talaihaapepe, although only after the interposition of the dummy called Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou. Thus Tui Tonga 13 and 14 are to be reckoned as belonging to the same generation as Tui Tonga 12. Tui Tonga 26 and Tui Tonga 27 are both sons of Tui Tonga 24, possibly 25 is also. Pau, Tui Tonga 36, was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa probably during the minority of his son Fuanunuiava.

I have accepted the evidence of the Tamaha's genealogical records and 175
listed the thirty-first king as Kauulufonua III, instead of Tapuosi II as given 643
in the Catholic Mission and the Uhatafe lists. Tapuosi II probably was not 173
the Tui Tonga but the Fijian Tui Lakepa, who married the Female Tui 127

Tonga Sinaitakala I, the eldest sister of Fatafehi, the thirtieth king. Aside 175
from this the accepted list coincides with the Catholic Mission list. The 643
Uhatafe list differs from all of the others in placing Maulupekotofa, the 173
thirty-seventh king, in advance of Pau, the thirty-sixth king who ruled at 127
the time of Cook's visits. Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava are doubtless the two Tui Tonga mentioned by Mariner, Maulupekotofa dying in 1806 just before Mariner's arrival, Fuanunuiava in 1810. Mariner estimated Fuanunuiava as about forty years of age.

The George II list is identical with the Catholic Mission list, except that it unites Fatafehi (number 30) with Tapuosi II of the Catholic Mission and Uhatafe lists, thus reducing the total number of kings to 38. In the Moulton list kings 17, 18, 19 of the accepted list are united as number 17 and kings 20, 21, 22 are united as number 18. The Baker list supports the Moulton list. Uhatafe and George II lists support the Catholic Mission list, which I have followed in accepting 39 as the number of kings, instead of 34 and 32, as given by Moulton and Baker. The Tamaha list is accepted for the succession of the last 11 Tui Tonga. Partial lists in the possession of the Tui Haa Teiho, of the widow of the chief Tafolo, and of Tupoumalohi strengthen the argument for the accepted list. A list published by Collocott (13, p. 166) follows the succession as given by George II.

As to the length of the period covered by the dynasty of Ahoeitu, I con- 175
cur in general with Collocott (13, pp. 167-169). It seems likely that Ahoeitu, 173
the legendary founder of the dynasty, began reigning about 950 A. D. 643
Tuitatui, the eleventh Tui Tonga and reputed builder of the great trilithon at Tongatabu, probably reigned about 1200. Samoan references to Talakaifaiki, the fifteenth Tui Tonga, seem to place his reign about 1250. Takalaua, the twenty-third Tui Tonga, probably held sway about 1450. Thomson (54, p. 306) gives 1535 as the probable date for Takalaua, but he makes Kauulufonua I the fourth Tui Tonga instead of the seventh before the king (probably Kauulufonua III) who ruled in Tasman's time. Therefore, I regard Collocott's date of 1470 for Kauulufonua I nearer the truth than Thomson's figure of 1535.

Tasman, who visited Tongatabu in 1643, mentions an elderly chief, but that he was the Tui Tonga and not the Tui Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu is not certain. The Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit was probably Kauulufonua III and not Fatafehi as Collocott suggests (13, p. 168), for according to tradition at the time of Cook's visit to Tonga, Pau, the thirty-sixth Tui Tonga, was the fifth ruler after the king who reigned at the time of Tasman's visit. Pau was adjudged by Cook in 1777 to be about forty years of age. The three remaining kings, Maulupekotofa, Fuanunuiava, and Laufilitonga, were all known to Europeans; especially Laufilitonga, who died in 1865.

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CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TUI TONGA

The following information has been obtained regarding the Tui Tonga listed on page 50: 173 175 643

1. Ahoeitu, the legendary first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended on December 9, 1865, with the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth ruler of the line, was the reputed son of a Tongan woman and a sky-god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua. While visiting his celestial father, Ahoeitu was killed by his half brothers. After his resurrection he was sent by his father down to Tonga to become its ruler. With him came his brothers who occupied subordinate positions. "Ahoeitu returned to earth and became Tui Tonga, the first [divine] Tui Tonga of the world. The Tui Tonga who originated from the offspring of the worm were displaced." (26, pp. 25, 38.)

The non-supernatural features of this legend suggest the beginning of a new line of rulers from the union of a woman of the earlier Tongan population with an immigrant or newly risen chief. The approximate date is believed to be 950 A. D.

The five celestial paternal half brothers, who descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, served him as subordinates in certain capacities. Three of these five are said to have representatives to-day in Tonga, not necessarily lineal descendants, for the names are really titles of offices which may be filled from collateral lines of relatives. The five half brothers of Ahoeitu and their representatives were: Talafale (Tui Faleua), represented today by Tui Pelehake; Matakehe, with no known representative; Maliepo, represented by Lauaki; Tui Loloko, represented by Tui Loloko; Tui Folaha, with no known representative.

2-9. Lolofakangalo, Fangaoneone, Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, Mauhau, Apuanea, Afulunga. Of the seven Tui Tonga who succeeded Ahoeitu there are known only the names and the statement that son succeeded father, until Momo, the tenth ruler of the line.

10. Momo. If the account is to be trusted, Momo chose as his chief wife Nua, the daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea of central Tongatabu. This custom of selecting a daughter of a powerful chief of Tongatabu as wife and mother of the new king [581] prevailed thenceforth throughout the whole history of the dynasty. Within the last four centuries the daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu was [581] selected. The mythical origin of kava would seem to be connected with Momo's reign, inasmuch as it is the chief Loau of Haamea who plays a leading part in the [276] tale (26, pp. 71-75). However, as there seems to have been more than one chief with the name of Loau this is not absolutely certain.

Apparently the Loau of Momo's time bore the full name of Loau Tuputoka. A chief of that name visited Savaii Island, Samoa, in Momo's reign, at the time the carapace of the famous turtle, Sangone, was reputed to have been buried (26, pp. 49-54). To Loau Tongafisifonua of perhaps another reign is attributed the famous voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152).

The reign of Momo must have been traditionally important for a proverbial expression (*hau 'o Momo*) refers to it. In his day, and in fact down through the time of Takalaua, the Tui Tonga was the temporal ruler (*hau*), as well as the sacred ruler.

It was apparently in Momo's reign or in that of his predecessor that the royal residence was moved from central or southeastern Tongatabu to Heketa, northeastern Tongatabu.

11. King Tuitatui, who reigned about 1200 A. D., left his mark in Tongan legendary history. Even an alleged peculiarity of head form is recorded, and what was believed to be his skull was unearthed in Heketa, Tongatabu, some years ago. He [349] is the reputed builder of the Trilithon. During his reign, the capital was at Heketa, near the famous structure (26, pp. 48-49). There Tuitatui erected the two royal tombs, Langi Heketa and Langi Moungalafa, presumably for his father and himself.

Tuitatui's predilection for the fair sex is illustrated in two tales (26, pp. 46-48), one 173
concerning incest with his sister Latutama, the other with winning the maiden Nua.
The recovery of the buried carapace of the famous turtle Sangone was accomplished 175
by Fasiapule, the king's maternal half brother (op. cit., pp. 49-54). Prince Tungi 643
possesses a piece of turtle-shell fishhook, reputed to be made from this carapace. Tuitatui is said to have died in the mountainous island of Eua, whence Fasiapule, his faithful half brother, transported his body to Tongatabu for burial (op. cit., p. 45). An Eua informant, Fakatene, said that the king died at Tuutuu, near Kolomaile.

One version of the story about the Tongan hero Muni states, perhaps wrongly, that Muni's mother embarked on one of the Tuitatui's vessels on the fatal voyage during which she fell a victim to the cannibal oven. (See 26, p. 120.)

Tuitatui is said to mean "king who strikes the knee," referring to the Tui Tonga's custom of hitting with a long stick the knees of his matapule when they came too
close. Tuitatui is reputed to have thus established the custom of keeping the matapule [644]
at a respectable distance on ceremonial occasions. His reason for this practice is said to have been the fear of assassination, because several [*sic.*] Tui Tonga had been killed at kava ceremonies by their matapule. The Falefa matapule who attended the Tui Tonga were induced by scheming great chiefs to murder them, in order that some relative of the schemers might ascend the throne. As the Falefa were foreigners (*muli*) they were not subject to the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for touching the Tui Tonga's person. (Actually, there is no tradition of the murder of any king before the nineteenth Tui Tonga.)

12. Talatama. The twelfth king seems to have been the son of Tuitatui who with his [349]
brother Talaihaapepe is said to have assisted in the erection of the great trilithon (26, pp. 30, 46). One native account says that the trilithon was made by Tuitatui's sons, Uanga (Talatama?) and Afulunga (Talaihaapepe?). While they were constructing it, Tuitatui died. After their father's death Talatama and his brother Talaihaapepe moved the capital to Lapaha where there was sheltered anchorage for their two favorite vessels (26, pp. 30, 46). Their sister Fatafehi, the Female Tui Tonga, by her silence gave consent to the removal. Another version, however, makes her the instigator of the move: Sometime after the completion of the trilithon, Fatafehi said to the new king, "Let us move from this locality, for I am tired of the noise of the surf on the rocks." So they moved and Fatafehi said, "Goodbye noisy rocks (Utulongoaa)," hence the name of the place to-day.

Concerning the reign of Talatama, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468 says: "Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass eine Verbindung mit dem 'Ali'atama in Manu'a besteht, welcher vielmehr als Karika in Rarotonga bekannt ist."

The royal residence was then erected at Lapaha. There was constructed the royal [764]
tomb called Langi Leka. (See also 26, p. 49.) It was the first of the great series of royal tombs to be built at Mua. Some generations later the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I was buried there.

13. Tuitonga Nui Tamatou. Tui Tonga Talatama lacked a male heir, apparently for the first time in the history of the dynasty. Talaihaapepe did not directly succeed his brother on the throne. To meet this situation a fictitious king (Tuitonga Nui Tamatou), represented by a dummy of *tou* wood, was provided and declared to be the son of Talatama and father of Talaihaapepe (26, p. 30). McKern, who excavated the terraced tomb reputed to be the burial place of the wooden dummy, found no trace of human bones. The dummy would naturally have rotted away long since.

Krämer writes (36, vol. 1, p. 468):

"Um diese Zeit heiratete die Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Laufafa e Toga den Tupa'imatuna, den Sohn des Lealali (p. 84 gen 13) aus deren Ehe viele Savai'i-Familien sich herleiten. Sie wird als eine Tochter des Tuitogamanaia und der Nafanua ausgegeben (III. b. 9. gen 11 p. 96). Von ihm und Lautivunia siehe die Geschichte V. c. 4 und IV. C. c. 1. Nach Fraser No. 5 soll der Sohn des Lautivunia den Bruder seines Vaters totgeschlagen haben und selbst Tuitoga geworden sein."

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My material throws no light upon the identity of the Tui Tonga Manaia, of 173
Nafanua, of Laufafa, or of Lautivunia. Possibly Manaia is a nickname for Talaihaa- 175
pepe. Elsewhere (op. cit., p. 94) Krämer speaks of a Tui Tonga Manaia as the
brother of Tui Tonga Fasiautele (Kauulufonua I). If he is the same individual, 643
there is a big discrepancy in time in the two attributions. Lautivunia is said to have been the brother of a Tui Tonga (op. cit., p. 344). The name of the Tui Tonga slain by Lautivunia's son is not known. Possibly it was Havea I, who, however, appears to have reigned somewhat later. If Havea I was the king, it seems likely that Tatafueikimeimua was his nephew, slayer, and successor.

14. Talaihaapepe. The brother of Talatama, twelfth Tui Tonga.

15. Talakaifaiki. According to Samoan tradition, Talakaifaiki was the temporary ruler of Samoa and resided at Safotu, Savaii (36, vol. 1, p. 61). He was expelled by the chiefs Tuna and Fata of the Malietoa line (22). He reigned about 1250 A. D. Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"Der Tuitoga Tala'aifei'i, der Samoa unterjochte und durch Tuna und Fata (gen 14) vertrieben wurde (IV. B. c. 2). Nach Stuebel p. 86 wäre er der Vater des Poluleuligaga (siehe gen. 15, p. 246)."

The Tongan tale (26, pp. 45-54) about the turtle Sangone seems to indicate that 648
already the Tongan grip on Samoa was strong in the days of the tenth and eleventh
Tui Tonga. Whether the relations recorded in this tale were the result of conquest or of peaceful penetration is not clear (26, pp. 45, 54). Presumably Talakaifaiki was the last of a series of rulers who had long held Samoa in vassalage.

16. Talafapite.

17-19. Tui Tonga Maakatoe, Tui Tonga Puipui, Havea I. Concerning the time of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and (or) nineteenth Tui Tonga, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) writes:

"Um diese Zeit wird ein Tuitoga Tuionu'ulava genannt, dessen Töchter Pate und Alainuanua nach Samoa heirateten (IV. B. b. 2. p. 246), letztere den Malietoafaigā Uilamatutū (gen 15). Ein Bruder dieser beiden hat den weiter unten des öfteren vorkommenden Namen Ulufanua (tele), der den Poluleuligaga zeugte."

The name Tui Onukulava does not occur in any Tui Tonga list with which I am familiar. It does occur much later as the name of a Tui Haa Takalaua.

Havea I. is the first identifiable king reputed to have met his death at the hands of an assassin.

20-23. Tatafueikimeimua is known chiefly through the tale of his unsuccessful wooing of a beautiful Samoan woman named Hina (26, pp. 55-60). His brother, Nganatatafu, figures in the tale as the king's successful rival. Hina bestowed upon Nganatatafu two bonitos, so that the coming of this fish to Tongan waters is attributed to Tatafueikimeimua's reign. Nganatatafu is possibly the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngana, a division of the Haa Fale Fisi, which to-day has its stronghold in Haano Island, Haapai, the home island of Nganatatafu. Suggesting somewhat the interference of Nganatatafu in the love affairs of his brother, is the adventure of Lautivunia, brother of a presumably earlier Tui Tonga. Lautivunia scaled the fence on the island where the Tui Tonga kept virgins destined for his harem. Two of the girls became pregnant and Lautivunia committed suicide when summoned to appear before his brother (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348).

Krämer (op. cit., p. 468), referring to the time of Tatafueikimeimua, Lomiaetupua, and (or) Havea II., says: "Um diese Zeit heiratete ein Tuitoga die Tochter des Manu'a in Safata, aus deren Nachkommen die Tuiaana—und Malietoa-Linie stammt (siehe IV, B. b. 6. p. 253)."

Havea II, like Havea I, met death at an assassin's hands. He was shot through the head by Tuluvota, a Fijian.

23. Takalaua. Tui Tonga Takalaua, who reigned about 1450 A. D., was murdered while eating food on the island of Mataaho in the lagoon at Tongatabu. His murderers are stated (26, pp. 32, 60, 65) to have been Tongans. Takalaua's sons cap-

tured the assassins in Uvea (Wallis Island) after prolonged pursuit and much fighting 173
in Tongatabu, Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, Niue (55, p. 21), Samoa, 175
Futuna, Fiji, and lastly Uvea. Another and somewhat garbled version given me by
Mafifalkapotu makes Futuna the place of capture of the assassins, and Fevanga and 643
Fefafa their names instead of Tamosia and Malofafa. Undoubtedly this is a mistake, for the names Fevanga and Fefafa are associated with the reign of Momo and the origin of kava. Mafifalkapotu's version follows:

"Kauulufonuafekai and Moungamotua made war on Uvea. They started war because two men killed their father, the Tui Tonga Takalaua. These two men fled to Haapai. Their names were Fevanga and Fefafa. They were driven from Haapai by the two brothers and their soldiers, thence to Vavau, to Niuatoputapu, to Niuafoou, to Samoa, to Uvea, to Futuna. In Futuna the Tui Tonga (Kauulufonuafekai) caught them. . . . . In Futuna the Tui Tonga's troops started to attack the Futunans. They, however, at once brought the murderers to the Tui Tonga. He thanked them and said that they might have a present—that thenceforth all Tongan boats that came to Futuna were theirs. The two murderers were taken to Tonga and executed. The Tui Tonga and his brother buried their father upon their return. After their father was buried, Moungamotua was made temporal lord, because some of the Tui Tonga ruled only a day or two and were assassinated. Fonuamotu is the name of the residence of Moungamotua. Jioeli Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's heir, now lives there."

As Takalaua's body was not buried until the execution of the assassins, it seems [764]
likely that it was mummified, probably after the Samoan fashion. That such preservation of bodies was occasionally resorted to in Tonga is attested by other evidence.

Takalaua's marriage to the beautiful Vae, the foundling of Ata Island near Tongatabu, has been recorded in several traditions (26, pp. 31, 60, 62; 54, pp. 294-304). So smitten was his majesty with her charms that he accidentally struck his face with a drumstick which he was wielding when he first saw her.

A brief and hitherto unpublished account of Takalaua and Vae was supplied by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker from the Tongan papers of her father, Dr. Shirley W. Baker. This account which gives Vae's full name as Vaelaveana, states that she was a woman from Ata and the child of a dove (*sic.*), and that she bore the following children to Takalaua: Kauulufonuafekai (son), Moungamotua (son), Latutoevave (son), Melineatoa (daughter), and Lotau (son). Takalaua was assassinated while eating food at Mataaho, by two men, Tamosia and Malofafa from Haatafale, who smelt of the sorcery basket. His children came sailing from Nuku. They kissed the feet of Takalaua and left him unburied, while they made war on Tongatabu and conquered it. But the two assassins fled to Eua, then to Haapai, Vavau, Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Futuna (where Kauulufonuafekai was wounded), and lastly Uvea. Kauulufonuafekai conquered all of these islands. At Uvea the assassins were caught and killed. All of the conquered islands came under the rule of the Tui Tonga.

24. Kauulufonua I. Kauulufonua I. received the additional appellation *fekai* (savage, cruel), because of his drastic punishment of his father's assassins. He succeeded his father Takalaua only after the long period spent in running down the murderers. The Tongan tale of Kauulufonua's search for the assassins received striking corroboration from a legend in Futuna Island, which tells of a Tongan invasion and of the Tongan leader, who, when wounded, shouted, "The gods are fools!" (54, p. 304, footnote). The Tongan versions (26, p. 32) state that Kauulufonua planned before the battle to determine by a test whether his prowess was his alone or whether he was assisted by a god. He planned to defend only his front in the forthcoming battle and to leave his back to the supposed divine protector. He was wounded in the back.

Following Kauulufonua's conquest of Eua, Haapai, Vavau, Niuatoputapu, Niuafoou, and Uvea, viceroys were sent to these several groups (26, pp. 62, 67). A Catholic Mission account refers to the Tui Tonga as ruler of Uvea as late as 1797.

Kauulufonua made a radical innovation in government by delegating his temporal authority to his younger brother who was given the title of Tui Haa Takalaua, Lord

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of the Lineage of Takalaua. This delegation of the Tui Tonga's temporal duties 173
probably took place about 1470. It marked the beginning of the eclipse of the Tui 175
Tonga, an eclipse which became total with the death of Laufilitonga in 1865. The
Tui Tonga retained the privileges and honors of his exalted position, which gave 643
him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women. After Kauulufonua I, no more is heard of vigorous warrior kings. All military activity seems to have passed into the hands of the subsidiary officers, notably the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu.

Concerning the relations of Kauulufonua I to Samoa, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says:

"In Samoa heisst er Tuitoga Faisautele (grossen Menschenfrass machend). Er heiratete die Vainu'ulasi (gen 18) und zeugte den Fa'aulufanua (IV. C. b. 5, p. 301) und den Ulualofaligā von Fagaloa (flp.). Er heiratete auch die Popoai und Taufaitoa (gen 20 in IV. C. b. 2) und zeugte den Tuiavi'i, Togialelei und Puipuifatu, wahrscheinlich die drei hier folgenden Tuitogā."

Of the three sons of Kauulufonua I mentioned by Krämer only Puipuifatu became king. He did not directly succeed Kauulufonua I, as Vakafuhu intervened. In what relation Vakafuhu stood to Kauulufonua I, I do not know; possibly he was a brother of Kauulufonua I. It is of interest to note that Puipuifatu was half Samoan, as apparently was Kauulufonua II, who according to Krämer was his half brother. Apparently Tongialelei attempted to seize the throne after slaying either his father Kauulufonua I, or his father's successor Vakafuhu. He was opposed in this by Puipuifatu (op. cit., p. 304).

25. Vakafuhu. Concerning Vakafuhu, whom Tongan lists give as the successor of Kauulufonua I, I have no data. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) has the following to say regarding the possible identification of this king in Samoan sources:

"Ein Aloiva'afulu wird in der Vaea-Geschichte (IV. B. c. 12, p. 268) genannt. Auch von Fitiuta auf Manu'a ist ein Va'afulu bekannt (p. 378 gen 18), was um so merkwürdiger ist, als es dort auch einen Tufele giebt. Ein Tofele nämlich kam von Samoa und tötete den Togialelei in Tonga (siehe die Geschichte IV. C. c. 3. p. 304)."

26. Puipuifatu. The twenty-sixth Tui Tonga perhaps married in Samoa (op. cit., p. 296) and perhaps his daughter married there also (op. cit., p. 187). Krämer's information seems to indicate Kauulufonua II, the twenty-seventh king, as also a son of Kauulufonua I, by a Samoan wife (op. cit., pp. 468-469).

27. Kauulufonua II. Krämer attributes to Kauulufonua II (Tuitogafa'aulufanua) a Samoan wife, Taupoimasina, who bore him a daughter Vaetoeifanga (op. cit., p. 86).

28. Tapuosi. Krämer (op. cit., p. 469) links with either Tapuosi or Fatafehi (the thirtieth Tui Tonga), a "Tuitoga Tupoufei'a". Referring to Tapuosi, he says:

"Tuitoga Tupoufei'a? (siehe gen 24). Eine Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Oloitoa heiratete um diese Zeit den Tagaloafesulu (gen 22 in III. b. 4. p. 91); auch heiratete um diese Zeit ein Tuitoga die Maupenei, die Tochter des La'ulunofovaleane (III. b. 2. gen 19-20 p. 88). . . . Wahrscheinlich ist dieser [Fatafehi] oder der Tabuooi (gen 22) der Tuitoga Tupoufei'a, welcher die Sapioamoa heiratete (siehe IV. B. b. 4. gen 24 p. 249), die ja der Malietoa-Linie entstammte, an die auch der Name des folgenden Uluaki erinnert. Ulua'i ali'i ist ein in der Malietoa-und Tuiatua-linie vorkommender Name (siehe gen 23)."

The name Tupoufeia should be linked with the Tui Kanokupolu rather than the Tui Tonga, for names with the word Tupou are very common in that family.

29. Uluakimata I (Telea). The tales concerning Uluakimata I (Telea) indicate a life of voluptuous ease, in which contemplation of the beauties of the scenery
and of women seem to have been the chief pastimes (26, p. 36). It is recorded that 595
his three wives of high rank brought him, in addition to themselves, two hundred
women for his harem. The transportation of huge stone blocks from Uvea to Tonga- 764
tabu for the construction of his royal tomb is attributed to this king. The freight
vessel was the famous *Lomipeau* (Under-the-Waves) reputed to have been built in 505
Uvea, but ultimately buried at Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the rudder of the

Lomipeau was made into a kava bowl, a part of which was taken in 1918 by a 173
Catholic priest to Uvea, because there the *Lomipeau* was built. The finest terraced 175
stone tomb at Lapaha, Tongatabu, the Paepae o Telea, is the putative resting place
of this ruler. According to a modern informant, Telea met death by drowning at sea. 643

The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott supplied me with the following account of [505]
Telea's birth:

"There was a woman pregnant to the Tui Tonga [Tapuosi], and afterwards another woman, Vaenopo, the daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. The gods caused Vaenopo to bring forth first, although her conception was later than that of the other woman. Her child was a boy named Telea, who became the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I, whose royal tomb is in Lapaha and is called Paepae o Telea."

30. Fatafehi. Telea was followed on the throne by his son Fatafehi and his daughter the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I. Both were the offspring of a woman named Mataukipa, one of Telea's three principal wives. (For an interesting anecdote concerning the relations of these three wives, see 26, p. 36.)

31. Kauulufonua III. The son of Fatafehi, Kauulufonua III, was probably the Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643.

32. Uluakimata II. King Uluakimata II had two noted sons, Tui Pulotu I (in Langi Tuofefafa), who became Tui Tonga, and Tokemoana, who was made Tui Haa Uluakimata (Lord of the Lineage of Uluakimata)—an appointment apparently patterned after that of the Tui Haa Takalaua in the reign of Kauulufonua I. The office appears to have languished; the lineage (*haa*) is not among those of modern Tonga.

33. Tui Pulotu I. Tui Pulotu I was buried in the royal tomb called Langi Tuofefafa. His body is said to be buried face downward with his brother Tokemoana, lying face downward on top of him.

34. Fakanaanaa. It is related that Fakanaanaa was the chief who was tattooed with a fruit at Moungaone Island, Haapai, and who when notified by the Falefa (the four ministers of the Tui Tonga) of his prospective elevation to the kingship, was at Ofolanga Island, Haapai. His mother was the daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone and Ofolanga islands—which probably accounts for his presence at Ofolanga.

35. Tui Pulotu II. After Fakanaanaa came his son Tui Pulotu II.

36. Pau. King Pau or Poulaho was ruling when Cook (1773) and Maurelle (1781) visited Tonga. He died about 1784.

37. Maulupekotofa. Pau was succeeded by his brother Maulupekotofa who died in 1806 during the troublous period of civil wars which began in 1799 (37).

38. Fuanunuiava. Pau's son Fuanunuiava succeeded to the throne shortly after his uncle's death but reigned only until 1810 when he died (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 453).

39. Laufilitonga. The son of Fuanunuiava, Laufilitonga, who was destined to become the thirty-ninth and last ruler of the line, did not assume office until 1827 (39, p. 94).

Besides Cook's vigorous portrayal of Pau, Vason and Mariner have left personal reminiscences of their acquaintance with Maulupekotofa and Fuanunuiava. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 133) gives an account of the marriage of Fuanunuiava (then about 40 years of age) to Ulukalala's daughter (presumably Popua), aged eighteen.

That the matter of succession after Pau is involved in some obscurity is shown by the conflicting accounts of Labillardière and Wilson, both eighteenth century visitors. The genealogies which I obtained seem to make it clear that Pau was followed by his brother Maulupekotofa and then by his son, Fuanunuiava. According to Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 170),

"When Poulaho [Tui Tonga Pau] died, he left a son very young, named Futtafaihe [Fuanunuiava]: the King's brother Futtafaihe, [presumably Maulupekotofa], then took the reins of government, but he died shortly after, and the sovereignty passed to Tineh, his eldest sister [presumably the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala IV., the eldest sister of Fuanunuiava, or else the Female Tui Tonga Nanasipauu, the sister of Maulupekotofa, but whose name, however, would hardly be rendered Tineh]. 173

175 643 If Maulupekotofa died before 1793, who then was the Tui Tonga who died just before Mariner arrived? No list mentions any Tui Tonga between Pau and his son Fuanunuiava except Maulupekotofa, who was Pau's brother. Wilson (66, p. liii) says that "Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafaihe [presumably Fuanunuiava] succeeded him in the sovereignty". This contradicts Labillardière's statement quoted just above. Obviously one is wrong. Perhaps both are wrong. It seems to me that we are justified in believing that Maulupekotofa came to the throne after Pau's death about 1784 and reigned until 1806. At the time of Labillardière's visit he may have been away in Vavau. On the other hand, Maatu, lord of Niuatoputapu, makes Fuanunuiava the Tui Tonga of 1793."

Vason (60, p. 77) writes as follows concerning the "Tui Tonga" of 1798:

"Amongst our visitors was Duatonga [Tui Tonga], or Futtafaihe [Fatafehi], who, next to Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], was the most powerful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho [Pau], a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother [Tupoumoheofo] lost the sovereignty.

"Toogahowe [Tukuaho], or Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], who was a great warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe [Mumui] with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed."

Vason's reference to the "Tui Tonga" of his time (1798) seems to indicate that the position of heir-apparent of Fatafehi Fuanunuiava had caused him to be treated with the same respect as his uncle Maulupekotofa, who must still have been reigning as he, presumably, was the Tui Tonga who died just before Mariner's arrival in Tonga in 1806. Fuanunuiava must have been thirty-one years old in 1798. Several points in Vason's statements require comment. The Fatafehi he refers to as the son of Pau could not be Maulupekotofa, because he was Pau's brother. The reference to Fatafehi's (Fuanunuiava's) mother losing the sovereignty evidently has to do with her failure to maintain herself as Tui Kanokupolu (see page 88) rather than to any attempt to hold the position of her deceased husband the Tui Tonga Pau. She is listed on page 86 as the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu, an office which she held but a short time, as she was ejected by force of arms by her cousin (her father's brother's son) Tukuaho, who then proceeded to establish his father Mumui as Tui Kanokupolu. With Mumui's death in 1797 Tukuaho became Tui Kanokupolu.

Finally, Anthony Uhatafe, bearer of the matapule title of Uhatafe, informed me that tradition reports estrangement of Pau and his son, because Fuanunuiava was "called king when born" (*fuaaihau*). For this reason Pau refused to confide the ancient lore to him.

643 [178] The present line of rulers on the Tongan throne really holds the position of the Tui Tonga, modified of course by European innovations. Although the father-son succession of Tui Tonga of the Ahoeitu dynasty ended with Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth of the line, the office was not really abolished, but was bestowed upon the reigning Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou (also known as Taufaahau and Maeakafa). The bestowal of the royal honors took place after the death of Laufilitonga, at Vavau, where the principal chiefs of Tonga assembled and proclaimed George I Tupou the next Tui Tonga, vesting him with all of the dignities of the office, such as the Tui Tonga's peculiar kava ceremonial, the ceremonies connected with his food, and the special words applied to him. Thus it is quite legitimate to reckon George I Tupou as the fortieth Tui Tonga, George II Tupou

most powerful chiefs in his domain. Marriages with daughters of Samoan 644
chiefs were popular, too, and Krämer gives many examples. The daughters 581
of great chiefs who became great royal wives can hardly be designated as 643
queens in the European sense. The real queen in Tonga was the sister of 648
the Tui Tonga, the Female Tui Tonga.

As to the exact etymology of the term *moheofo* I am uncertain: *mohe* means "sleep, cohabit"; *ofo* means "surprise, marvel, wonder," also "to revive afresh, as any herb that appeared dead." Collocott obtained two meanings for *moheofo*: "to sit and give luck to a fishing expedition," "to take girls to a great chief." He speaks of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, as having been sent to *moheofo* from the Hihifo District, Tongatabu. 644

The following are the great royal wives and mothers of succeeding 644
Tui Tonga: 643
551

TUI TONGA	ROYAL WIFE	HER SON THE TUI TONGA
10. Momo	Nua, daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea	11. Tuitatui
23. Takalaua	Vaelaveamata, of Ata Island	24. Kauulufonua I
24. Kauulufonua I	Taufaitoa, a Samoan	26. Puipuifatu
24. Kauulufonua I	Vainuulasi, a Samoan	27. Kauulufonua II
28. Tapuosi	Vaenopo, daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. Bastian [4, p. 297] says Vaenopo was the daughter of Ahomee.) The Tamaha's genealogy says Vaetapu, the daughter of Ahomee.	29. Uluakimata I
29. Uluakimata I	Mataukipa, daughter of Kauulufonuahuo	30. Fatafehi
30. Fatafehi	Kaloafutonga, daughter of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and, sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata	31. Kauulufonua III
31. Kauulufonua III	Takala, daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili	32. Uluakimata II
32. Uluakimata II	Toa, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea	33. Tui Pulotu I
33. Tui Pulotu I	Manuna, daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone Island.	34. Fakanaanaa
34. Fakanaanaa	Tongotea, daughter of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea	35. Tui Pulotu II
35. Tui Pulotu II	Laumanukilupe, daughter of Tupoutoa (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea)	36. Pau
35. Tui Pulotu II	Anaukihesina, daughter of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga	37. Maulupekotofa
36. Pau	Tupoumoheofo, daughter of the seventh Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi, and herself twelfth Tui Kanokupolu.	38. Fuanunuiava
38. Fuanmuiava	Tupouveiongo, daughter of the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu Mumui	39. Laufilitonga
39. Laufilitonga	Halaevalumataaho, daughter of the seventeenth Tui Kanokupolu Tupoutoa	

The mother of No. 29 was the daughter of a man who was, so far as known, of 644
no importance in Tongan affairs—the younger brother of the chief Ahomee. Similarly 643
traditional history gives us no indication of the position of the mother's father of king 581
173
175

30. With king 30 began a series of marriages with the daughters of the great houses 644
of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu. King 30 married the daughter of 643
the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (she was also the sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu); 581
king 31 married the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua; king 32 the daughter 173
of the eighth. King 33 neglected both the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of 175
the Tui Kanokupolu and married the daughter of the chief of Moungaone Island, Haapai.
Kings 34 to 36, 38, and 39 each married a daughter of a Tui Kanokupolu. In addition king 35 married a granddaughter of one; she was the mother of Pau, the Tui Tonga of Cook's time.

It would appear that the importance of the Tui Haa Takalaua decreased
so after the eighth one that their daughters were no longer sought as great
royal wives by the Tui Tonga. Additional marriages to daughters of the 644
Tui Kanokupolu who did not become great royal wives are: Fakanaanaa to 643
Tuutongahunuhunu (daughter of Atamataila), Tui Pulotu II to Tui Loka- 581
mana (daughter of Vuna), Pau to Kongakava (daughter of Maealiuaki), [551]
Fuanunuiava to Tupoufalemei (daughter of Tui Halafatai), and Fuanunuiava to Palulongoteme (daughter of Mulikihaamea).

The harem of the Tui Tonga was extensive, for usually each regularly 595
espoused wife of high rank brought supplementary wives (*fokonofo*) or 644
concubines to her husband. Often a younger sister or other relative was a *fokonofo*.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI TONGA

The successor to the Tui Tonga was his son born of the great royal wife, 643
a woman who had been properly espoused to him, and who was usually the daughter of a great chief, but not necessarily of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu. Should there be more than one wife whose children were eligible, the succession went to the first born son, and after him to his younger half brother, not to his son. The succession of Kauulufonua II after Puipuifatu and of Maulupekotofa after Pau are examples of this fraternal succession.

Although the blood of the heir-apparent preordained him as the future
ruler of the country, he did not automatically become king upon the death
of his father. The actual installation in office seems to take place upon the [574]
calling of the new title by the person officiating as announcer at the kava-drinking ceremony, a method of installation followed for all title holders in Tonga. Laufilitonga, although the legitimate heir, did not succeed to office as thirty-ninth Tui Tonga for seventeen years after the death of his father, and came to the throne only through installation at the proper assemblage of high chiefs. However, Samoan tradition says that Kauulufonua I named his son, Puipuifatu, as his successor (36, vol. 1, p. 304). Actually, though, another king, Vakafuhu intervened.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seems to have been the chief who anciently convened the assemblage for the appointment of the Tui Tonga, calling together

The Reverend John Havea writes of these as four "tribes," which I interpret 644
as four lineages, each with one of these functionaries as the head. Under 613
each functionary Havea lists certain matapule.

Tui Loloko (the lord of Loloko, the name of the house in which he dwelt) was the first member of Ahoeitu's Falefa. The name of the chief matapule of this lineage was Tuuhokokilangi (The-man-standing-on-the-earth-and-reaching-to-the-sky). He came from the "sky" with Ahoeitu. Malupo, the second matapule of the Tui Loloko lineage, also descended with Ahoeitu from the sky.

Maliepo was the second member of Ahoeitu's Falefa. "The matapule of Maliepo's lineage is Lauaki."

Tui Folaha was the third member of Ahoeitu's Falefa, which lineage had the task of hewing stones and preparing the tombs of the Tui Tonga and the members of his family. The first matapule of the lineage was Aholangamakahiva (The-day-when-they-cut-nine-stones). The title of the second matapule, Mailau, has reference to the dissatisfaction of the lineage with the insufficient food given by the Tui Tonga to the stonecutters.

The fourth member of the first Falefa was Matakehe whose lineage formed the guard of the Tui Tonga "and engaged in many wars with other 'tribes' [lineages ?] in which the Tui Tonga took part." This lineage has completely vanished.

Of the first Falefa there are to-day representatives of two: Tui Loloko and Maliepo. If, indeed, the origin of these titles dates from the reign of the first Tui Tonga, they probably have an antiquity of about a thousand years.

According to John Havea, "After two or three centuries the Matakehe lineage had become lost, the Tui Folaha had become engaged in hewing stones, and the Maliepo had gone from the home of the Tui Tonga to live
with the Tui Kanokupolu." Havea's period of two or three centuries must 644
be viewed askance. If it is the actual length of time between Ahoeitu and 175
the first Tui Kanokupolu, Tongan chronologies are all wrong, for Ahoeitu 613
probably reigned in the Tenth Century and the first Tui Kanokupolu early in the Seventeenth Century. On the other hand if the first Falefa lasted only two or three centuries and ended with the establishment of the Tui Kanokupolu, then the attribution of Ahoeitu's reign as the time of its origin is altogether too early. Havea's estimate of the time lapse between the inauguration of the first Falefa and the second Falefa cannot therefore be accepted. An account set down by William Tungi (deceased), paternal grandfather of the Prince Consort William Tungi, attributes the appointment or perhaps reorganization, of the second Falefa to the twenty-third Tui Tonga, Takalaua, who was assassinated about 1450. Local tradition at Niutoua, Tongatabu, where once lived the famous king Tuitatui (the eleventh Tui

Tonga), attributes the coming of part of the second Falefa to Tuitatui's 644
reign, about 1200. It is said that Tui Talau (Tui Motuliki) and his matapule 175
arrived at that period from Fiji. When the Tui Tonga gave Tui Motuliki 613
his choice of residence, he selected Talau in Vavau, hence the title Tui Talau (50, pp. 140-142). If the attribution to Tuitatui's reign is true, it sets back the origin of the second Falefa about 250 years before the time given by Tungi. But this would correspond to the lapse of two or three centuries, in Havea's account, between the first and second Falefa.

After the disposition of the lineages of Matakehe, Tui Folaha, and Maliepo, described above, the second Falefa took the place of the first, with matapule who had come from Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma.

The first lineage of the second Falefa was that of Tui Loloko, which was the only lineage carried over from the first Falefa. The same matapule also functioned, although for Malupo in this second Falefa a Fijian origin is asserted, he having come with Tui Motuliki (Tui Talau).

The second lineage was that of the Tui Talau, which came from Fiji. 644
The matapule Faingaa, Hoakai (Soakai in Fijian), and Mapu were Fijians. 175
Faingaa's god was Kanahe. Hoakai's land allotment was at Felemea, Uiha 613
Island, Haapai. It was bestowed by the Tui Tonga. Hoakai was the matapule 648
who ate and smoked with the Tui Tonga; the privilege also being exercised 643
in recent years with the Tui Kanokupolu (15, p. 41). When the
first Hoakai came from Fiji and, knowing no better, sat down to eat with
the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, he was permitted because he was a foreigner
and his descendants continued to hold that special privilege. If a Tongan 643
ate the Tui Tonga's food, it was thought he would be afflicted with goiter 264
(*fua*) which only the Tui Tonga could prevent by stroking. Hoakai 644
analyzes as *hoa* (pair) and *kai* (to eat). What was left over after the Tui [753]
Tonga and Hoakai had finished eating was given to Uhatafe to eat. The [755]
descendants of the chief Maafu Tukuiaulahi, who was of Rotuman origin,
were also privileged to eat the remains of the meals of the Tui Tonga.

McKern, who saw the present Hoakai, says that he was notably different 644
in personal appearance from the prevailing Tongan types. His lower limbs 142
were small at the knees and his ankles in proportion to their thickness
elsewhere. His waist was small in proportion to the breadth of his hips.
His skin was darker than that of the relatively dark skinned Tongan. His
hair was decidedly curly.

Niutoua, Tongatabu, a town in the district called Hahake, Tongatabu, 361
where Tui Motuliki is reported to have landed, has a noticeably dark element 167
in its population. These dark skinned people were pointed out to McKern 144
by Tamale, of Niutoua, as the descendants of the Fijians whom Tui Motuliki
brought with him to Tonga.

On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, 634
it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works 173
for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy. 643

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, 643
Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in 644
Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided, the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth 361
and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the 643
twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of 175
the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned, *afiu*," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places 644
where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of 342
such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could
be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became 644
sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, 342
and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this 758
house was *falevakaipuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*, sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island 643
of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, 175
nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured as 484
fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoan Tala'aifei'i) resided part of the time in Samoa 643
where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. 648
He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and 175
troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga 484
before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand [584]
of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known [721]
to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, 643
is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the 648
Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau 175
group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga 484
Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum 643
for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony 175
(26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and Labillardière 535
(37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulupekotofa
or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent
more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately 643
to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his 687
brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, 682
according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or
his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of
assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate children 643
that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of 833
lower rank. [848]

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka, Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, married [173]
Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married
Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the
sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which 643
an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two 595
examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also 593

The holding of the joint offices of Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanoku- 643
polu by Maealiuaki and Mulikihaamea seems to presage the extinction of the former offer—a condition which later was made permanent, and was carried further by the absorption of the Tui Tonga's office after Laufilitonga's death in 1865.

The Tamaha's account seems to indicate that the Tui Haa Takalaua held office until death, though it is specifically stated for but a few. The account reads literally:

> Moungamotua was the first Tui Haa Takalaua, and he died and his son Tanekitonga succeeded him. 643
> He was succeeded by his son Vaeamatoka, and he was succeeded by his son Siulangapo, 173
> who was succeeded by his son Vakalahimoheuli, and he was succeeded by his son Moungatonga. On the death of Moungatonga, Fotofili became Tui Haa Takalaua. Fotofili died and Vaea was made Tui Haa Takalaua. And Vaea died and Moeakiola became Tui Haa Takalaua. On the death of Moeakiola, [his brother] Kafoa was next in succession. After he had been set adrift, he came and fought Tonga and won and he became Tui Haa Takalaua.

Just what is meant by the words "set adrift" I am not certain. I see two
possibilities. Either he was exiled or he was literally set adrift in a canoe [687]
to drown, which is one Tongan method of disposing of political enemies.
If set adrift it is obvious he was rescued.

Elsewhere the Tamaha writes of a Tui Haa Takalaua Tatafu who was the half brother (probably younger) of Vaea and it is possible that it was he who tried to keep Kafoa from the office and that it was he whom Kafoa fought and overcame. As Tatafu's mother was a different woman from Vaea's mother, it is very probable that he was much younger; in fact it is not improbable that he was younger than his nephew Moeakiola (Vaea's son) who was the ninth Tui Haa Takalaua. This seems to be indicated by the fact that he married the sister's daughter of the thirty-fifth Tui Tonga.

Mulikihaamea, the last Tui Haa Takalaua, was slain in battle by troops 643
of the Tui Kanokupolu on May 10, 1799. He had joined his forces with 669
those of Finau Ulukalala against the adherents of the recently assassinated 175
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. He had at first pretended to espouse the cause of Tukuaho's avengers, but shortly threw off the mask and openly united with Ulukalala.

To-day there is no Tui Haa Takalaua, but there are people who claim 643
to belong to the lineage Haa Takalaua. King George I created a new title, 613
Tungi, which in some measure replaces that of Tui Haa Takalaua. The title, unlike that of Tui Haa Takalaua, is inferior to the title of Tui Kanokupolu, inasmuch as it was created by the Tui Kanokupolu to give a political standing to the otherwise unrecognized lords of the Haa Takalaua lineage.

The following is Shirley W. Baker's statement of the origin of the Tui Haa Takalaua:

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Tui Kanokupolu is the hereditary title of the present ruler of Tonga. 643 Anciently the Tui Kanokupolu was third in rank, the Tui Tonga being first, 175 the Tui Haa Takalaua second. According to the Prince Consort Tungi, younger sons of a number of Tui Haa Takalaua were sent to Hihifo District, Tongatabu, to rule. These were regularly opposed and killed until about 1610, there was sent one Ngata, half Samoan, half Tongan in parentage. According to Tongan belief, Ngata's god (probably Taliai Tupou) was stronger than the Hihifo gods and Ngata established himself as the first Tui Kanokupolu.

To-day there is no division of regal power in Tonga. The Tui Kanokupolu Taufaahau (afterwards King George I Tupou) obliterated the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua and centered all the power in the hands of himself as the Tui Kanokupolu, the office now filled by Queen Charlotte. The titles Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua are no longer employed. George I would seem to have absorbed the office of Tui Tonga, rather than to have abolished it, for he was declared Tui Tonga, but no ruler since has used the title, the present ruler and her father being Tui Kanokupolu and constitutional monarchs. 643

The list of Tui Kanokupolu is given below. It is similar to that compiled by the Tamaha Amelia and Government lists, except that Tupoumoheofo is listed before Mumui, where she unquestionably belongs, judging from Vason's testimony (60, pp. 77-78). It differs in this and other respects from the lists published by West (62, p. 56) and Collocott (13, p. 182).

1. Ngata. Son of Moungatonga, the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua. Ca. 1610. 643
2. Atamataila. Son of Ngata. 173
3. Mataeletuapiko. Son of Atamataila. 175
4. Mataelehaamea or Mataeleusitea. Son of Mataeletuapiko.
5. Vuna. Son of Mataeletuapiko. Possibly was only Tui Vavau and not Tui Kanokupolu.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Son of Mataelehaamea.
7. Tupoulahi. Son of Maafuotuitonga.
8. Maealiuaki. Son of Maafuotuitonga. Was also Tui Haa Takalaua. Died in 1777.
9. Tui Halafatai. Son of Tupoulahi. Appointed in 1777, died 1782.
10. Tupoulahisii. Son of Tui Halafatai. Appointed in 1782.
11. Mulikihaamea. Son of Maealiuaki. Was also Tui Haa Takalaua. Died in 1799, but some years after he had ceased to be Tui Kanokupolu and had become Tui Haa Takalaua.
12. Tupoumoheofo. Daughter of Tupoulahi and widow of the Tui Tonga Pau.
13. Mumui. Son of Maafuotuitonga. Appointed in 1793, died in 1797. Labillardière's Tupou of 1793 (34, vol. 2, p. 118).
14. Tukuaho. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1797, died in 1799.
15. Maafuolimuloa. Son of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Son of Mumui. Resigned in 1812.
17. Tupoutoa. Son of Tukuaho. Appointed in 1812, died in 1820.

18. Aleamotua, Josiah, or Tupouifaletuipapai. Son of Mumui. Appointed in 1826, died 1845. 643 173
19. George I Tupou, Taufaahau I, or Maeakafa. Son of Tupoutoa. Appointed December 4, 1845, died February 18, 1893. 175
20. George II Tupou, Taufaahau II. Son of the Tui Pelehake George Fatafehi and son's daughter's son of George I Tupou. Appointed March 17, 1893, died April 5, 1918.
21. Charlotte Mafileo. Daughter of George II Tupou. Appointed October 9, 1918.

The published works consulted indicate a hiatus between 1820 and 1826 in which there was no Tui Kanokupolu. Actually Ulakai, paternal half-brother of Tupoutoa, was appointed at the island of Uiha, following Tupoutoa's interment. He seems never to have been formally inducted into office at the sacred *koka* tree in the Hihifo District, Tongatabu, so presumably should not be counted as a Tui Kanokupolu.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE VARIOUS TUI KANOKUPOLU

1. Ngata. The first Tui Kanokupolu, Ngata, was one of the younger sons of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (Moungatonga). He was half Samoan, his mother being Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama (Kama) of Safata, Upolu. He was sent by his father, so tradition goes, to Hihifo to rule over the western division of Tongatabu and assumed the title of Tui Kanokupolu. Thomson (54, p. 307) gives 1610 as the probable date for his installation, Collocott (13, p. 180) gives 1650. Probably the earlier date is more nearly correct, for both Ngata and the twenty-eighth Tui Tonga, Tapuosi, married the daughters of Ahomee, according to the Tamaha's genealogies. There is today a hamlet in Hihifo District known as Kanokupolu, the name said to mean "flesh (or heart) of Upolu," Upolu being the second largest island of the Samoan group.

The modern lineage, Haa Ngata Motua, regards Ngata as its eponymous ancestor. [613] Certain chiefs who belong to it bear as titles the names or titles first borne by Ngata's sons.

2. Atamataila. Atamataila left no particular mark upon Tongan history. It was evidently his daughter Tuutangahunuhunu who was taken to the Tui Tonga Fakanaanaa against her wishes (26, p. 69).

3. Mataeletuapiko. As the name seems to indicate, Mataeletuapiko must have been [732] deformed, for *tuapiko* means hunchback. It is related that he prevented his ambitious son Mataelehaamea from becoming Tui Haa Takalaua. Mataeletuapiko is considered [613] the ancestor of the great modern lineage of Haa Havea, certain of the chiefs of which bear the same titles as did Mataeletuapiko's sons. The people of Toku Island (now uninhabited) were of the Haa Takalaua and were descendants of political exiles from Haamea in central Tongatabu. Their flight to Toku is said to have taken place in the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko, and presumably resulted from the attempt of his son Mataelehaamea to seize the position of Tui Haa Takalaua.

4. Mataelehaamea. The fourth Tui Kanokupolu, Mataelehaamea, was the ancestor [613] of the modern lineage Haa Ngata Tupu. His nickname Mataeleusitea refers to the lack [551] of tattooing on his "backside" (buttocks?). [304]

5. Vuna. There is some doubt as to whether Vuna, listed as fifth Tui Kanokupolu, really was appointed to that office. His name is omitted from West's list. It was either he or one of his successors of the same name whom Ulukalala II overthrew when he established himself as master of Vavau. It seems unlikely that Vuna, the son of Mataeletuapiko, was the man whom Ulukalala drove from Vavau (40, vol. 1, pp. 86, 88, 160). The Vuna (op. cit. p. 410) of Mariner's time may have been the son or grandson of the fifth Tui Kanokupolu.

6. Maafuotuitonga. Nothing seems to be on record about this ruler.

7. Tupoulahi. The seventh Tui Kanokupolu, Tupoulahi, may have held office at

the time of Cook's first visit in 1773. The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui 643
Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives 173
with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common.

8. Maealiuaki. The eighth Tui Kanokupolu, Maealiuaki, who entertained Cook 175
lavishly, was an old man in 1777, the year he died.

9. Tui Halafatai. Ninth Tui Kanokupolu. Tui Halafatai, is said by West (62, p. 56) to have been the ruler when Cook visited the islands. A note in the Tongan Government list of Tui Kanokupolu is to the same effect. The Tamaha's genealogies state that Tui Halafatai was appointed in 1777.

10. Tupoulahisii. Tupoulahisii, the tenth Tui Kanokupolu, was ruling in 1782, but the ruler mentioned by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 118) in 1793 was Mumui who was then about sixty years old.

11. Mulikihaamea. Mulikihaamea, the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu who succeeded Tupoulahisii, gave up the office for that of Tui Haa Takalaua, an office which his father Maealiuaki had also held. He was killed in battle on May 10, 1799, when hostile troops surrounded his litter.

12. Tupoumoheofo. Tupoumoheofo held office but a short time. She seized the office unlawfully after the death of her husband, the Tui Tonga Pau, and probably immediately after Mulikihaamea's elevation to the office of Tui Haa Takalaua.

The Tamaha's statement of her attempt to become Tui Kanokupolu reads 644
in substance as follows: 643

173

This woman, the daughter of [the Tui Kanokupolu] Tupoulahi, had no right to 175
be queen, but during the absence of Tukuaho, the rightful heir, at Eua, where he was sent as governor, she went to Hihifo, put a *taovala* mat about her waist, and sat with her back to the *koka* tree, beneath which the installation of the Tui Kanokupolu took place. Then she came back and declared herself Tui Kanokupolu. Tukuaho, hearing this, returned from Eua, landing at Popua. Tupoumoheofo fled to Vavau, where she died and is buried at Pouono.

Tukuaho had his father, Mumui, declared Tui Kanokupolu in 1793, and he ruled until 1797.

Other versions of this remarkable woman's attempt to best her powerful cousin, Tukuaho, are given by Wilson (66, pp. 104, 252, 274) and Vason (60, pp. 77-78).

Judging from Wilson's account (66, p. 104) Tupoumoheofo was still alive in 1797, although in exile in Vavau. Thomson (54, p. 321) says that she was driven to take refuge in the island of Eua. This may have been an earlier occurrence than her exile to Vavau, for Thomson speaks of this as occurring immediately after the death of the Tui Tonga Pau about 1784. It may well be that Tukuaho had more than one encounter
with her. Evidently the statement of Wilson (66, p. liii) to the effect that "the [669]
influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which
Toogahowe [Tukuaho] had waged with success" refers to a quarrel between this woman and Tukuaho. Thomson has quite well described the probable sequence of events.

13. Mumui. Mumui was an old man when appointed in 1793. He died in 1797.

The following incidents throw light on court relations in the days of the contempo- 643
raneous Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea. This account 173
is the introduction to a poem about Mumui published by Collocott (16, p. 99): 175

There went forth a message from the chief Mumui to a man called Uhila in Hihifo, Tongatabu, to come and plait mats of coconut leaves.

As Uhila came from Hihifo, Tuakilaumea, the orator, was making a reed fence at Takoto. The orator addressed Uhila, saying: "Uhila, have you come?"

Uhila responded, saying: "I have run from Hihifo because of a message that came." 643

Tuakilaumea said: "And what is in your basket, Uhila?" 173

Uhila answered: "This basket of mine contains a present of kava." 175

Then suggested Tuakilaumea: "You had better leave your basket as provisions for those making the fence." Uhila acceded.

Uhila went on to Mumui and Mumui greeted Uhila and said: "Uhila, have you come?"

And Uhila replied: "I have run from Hihifo because of the message that came."

Said Mumui: "I sent a message for you to come and plait my mats, because one house is very bad. And, man, have you not brought a present of kava?"

"I had some kava, but I left it with the orator (Tuakilaumea) who was building a reed fence."

Thereupon Mumui became very angry and ordered that all Nukualofa go and burn the dwelling of Tuakilaumea. They did so.

Because of this, Tuakilaumea went to Faletapu to dwell and taught there the harangue (*laulau*) about Mumui. Then went forth a message from Mulikihaamea in Mua, to bring the people who presented the harangue from Faletapu to Mua, in order that it be given in a night entertainment there. So the harangue about Mumui was performed at Mulikihaamea's entertainment.

Later Mulikihaamea went to Nukualofa and told Mumui about it, saying to him: "Tama (a familiar term for chief), you ought to hear the harangue about you, that is presented by our old man." A message was sent that the performers were to be brought to Malaealoa to present the harangue (for Mumui). It was done and Mumui was so pleased with it, that it was repeated four times. Mumui gave four fine mats to the performers as presents.

14. Tukuaho. Tukuaho, the son of Mumui, was installed as Tui Kanokupolu on 643
May 14, 1797. He was assassinated April 21, 1799. His brief reign and tyrannical 173
character have been thoroughly dealt with by other writers (40, 41, 65, 66). 175

A bit of additional light is thrown upon the assassination of Tukuaho by the
Tamaha's statement that "all the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu had a hand in the 682
murder of Tukuaho, especially his elder brother, Tangataolakepa."

The following is a translation of a Tongan account (33) of Tukuaho's assassination at Mua:

Tupouniua and Ulukalala arrived in Tukulalo, a beach in Navutoka. They stayed there while they sent a message to Tatakamotonga in Mua, where Tukuaho stayed, to tell Falekaono [a Vavau chief] to run away for they loved him. Falekaono said to tell them he would not run away, but if they wanted to do anything to do it, and he would stay and die together with Tukuaho as payment for the food that he was eating. Tupouniua and Ulukalala said, "All right we will go ahead and he can die if he wants to, for not believing us." Falekaono said nothing to anyone, not even Tukuaho.

When night came Falekaono asked Tukuaho to share his tapa with him and to bring his bottle of oil for them both to use. Tukuaho gave him all he wanted, but wondered what was the meaning of it all. Afterwards they slept. When night was drawing to a close Tupouniua and Ulukalala came from Navutoka to Mua. When they arrived in Mua, Tukuaho was in a place called Langakali, a place for kings, and all were asleep. Ulukalala remained outside while Tupouniua went inside. He found Tukuaho asleep with his little daughter Finau by his side. Tupouniua hit Falekaono on the head with a war weapon (club?) and Tukuaho called out from the other side, "Who hits Falekaono?"

Tupouniua answered, "Wretch, my grandmother dies," and thereupon struck Tukuaho on the face and killed him. Then he went outside and departed with Ulukalala to Navutoka, whence they sailed to Haapai. Then Tupouniua went to Tongoleleka and stayed there while Ulukalala stayed in Pangai. [Both places are in Lifuka Island, Haapai.]

Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was 643
killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala. 173

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fangafua, 175
his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child
lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead, Fangafua was carried to Pangai, 682
then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, instructed 768
that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband, but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoelangi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo, where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse.
When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the 644
slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for 643
Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war. 173

One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house 175
and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did 765
not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the [276]
necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out, for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the 173
house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had 175
gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on 669
to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his 726
men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga. When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while 644
Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers 173
and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their 175
father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for 782
that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho. They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in. Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feiumu*) to welcome her
people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's [562]
sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. Maafuolimuloa. Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, 643
according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui 173
Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko 175
and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

Vaini, Tongatabu. Maafulimuloa's father was Mailelaumotomoto, his father's father was 643
Hafoka, and his father's father's father was the third Tui Kanokupolu. How Maafuo- 173
limuloa came to be appointed is related by the Tamaha as follows: This chief had no
right to be king [Tui Kanokupolu], as he was the son of Maafutukuiaulahi [of Vaini], 175
but as all the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu had a hand in the murder of Tukuaho,
especially his elder brother Tangataolakepa, the rest of the children of Mumui were too [682]
frightened to declare one of themselves king. After some planning the Haa Havea
[chiefs] decided to bring a son of Maafu and appoint him to keep up this position, and
Maafuolimuloa was therefore brought and made king. Later in the time of peace
Tupoumalohi was made Tui Kanokupolu.

According to a Nukualofa informant Maafuolimuloa reigned for one day and was [682]
assassinated.

16-21. The subsequent appointments to the office of Tui Kanokupolu are covered beyond and by the various printed sources. West (62, p. 56) and Thomson (54, p. 333) make Tupoumalohi the eldest son of Tukuaho; but Farmer (23) and the Tamaha's genealogy make him the son of Mumui and brother of Tukuaho, which I regard as correct. He resigned his office in 1812, in favor of Tupoutoa.

Tupoutoa, the seventeenth Tui Kanokupolu, was appointed in 1812 and died in 1820. Tupoutoa was buried in a tomb on Uiha, constructed by a chief named Pooi, who was later buried therein himself with the approval of Taufaahau, Tupoutoa's son. Aleamotua or Josiah Tupou or Tupou-in-Faletuipapai was appointed in 1826 and died in 1845. (The name Tupou-in-Faletuipapai refers to the cemetery in which he is buried, in consonance with the usual Tongan custom of referring to deceased rulers.)

The most famous Tui Kanokupolu of all, King George I, or Taufaahau I, or Maea-
kafa, was appointed in 1845 and died in 1893. (Another name, applied in infancy be- [551]
cause he was "fed as a child," is Nginingini Ofolanga, by which he was known in [553]
Samoa and elsewhere, the name Taufaahau was adopted after the god Taufa of Ahau
"cured" him of an illness.) He was the greatest ruler in Tongan history and has been
so adequately covered by a number of works that I do not feel justified in entering upon any discussion of him in this paper. He was succeeded in 1893 by his great-grandson, George II, or Taufaahau II, who reigned until his death in 1918. George II was the son of the Tui Pelehake, George Fatafehi, who had married the son's daughter of George I, the son being David Unga who died in 1897, and the daughter of David Unga being Fusipala who died in 1888.

The reigning Tui Kanokupolu of today is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo, who was appointed in 1918 and who is the daughter of George II.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

The first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata was appointed from above, that is by 643
his father the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. Those of later times were 622
selected by their supporting chiefs. Wilson (66, p. 249) says:

> Today [May 14, 1797] Toogahowe [Tukuaho] was vested with the name and
> authority of Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], in the room of his father, Moomooe
> [Mumui], deceased. His name was now changed from Feenou Toogahowe [Finau [551]
> Tukuaho] to that of Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou], the god of their family; and we [553]
> understand that none of his subjects must in future address him by his former name, on
> pain of death.

Vason (60, p. 79) writes:

> Toogahowe [Tukuaho], who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighboring islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his father Moomooe in the post of distinction, had, ever since, strengthened his power with the chiefs by making them his companions and friends. No sooner therefore were they met, in publick

643 the person of the Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki who entertained Cook. Maealiuaki's son Mulikihaamea also held the two offices, but apparently not simultaneously.

175 643 The relative powers of the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga at the end of the eighteenth century are well set forth by Wilson (65, p. 384):

> At Tongataboo an oligarchy seems to prevail, at the head of which is a monarch of the Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] race, to whom all pay homage; yet another person, under the title of Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], has the chief power and authority, commanding the army by sea and land: whether this office be hereditary or elective is not ascertained. Toogahôwe [Tukuaho], though not the eldest son, on the death of Tibo Moomôoe [Mumui], assumed the government; his acknowledged warlike character probably removed every competitor. Besides these, other chiefs seem possessed of great power. . . . Tongataboo resembles most the government of Japan, where the sacred majesty is a sort of state prisoner to the captain-general; but at the Friendly Islands Futtafâihe [Fatafehi] has great authority, though Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu] seems as superior in command as he acknowledges himself inferior in dignity.

In another account Wilson says (66, pp. liii, lv):

> Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafâihe succeeded him in the sovereignty; but he being a voluptuous man, the government is chiefly conducted by Fenou Toogahôue [Tukuaho], the present commander in chief, who is said to be nephew of the former. His superiority as a warrior and a man of business, gives a preponderance to his authority. The influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which Tôogahoue has waged with success. . . .
>
> [484] The direction in which it [the Tongan archipelago] chiefly extends being north and south, renders the communication each way practicable during the trade wind; and most, if not all the islands, are regularly visited by the sovereign [Tui Tonga] or the commander in chief [Tui Kanokupolu].

643 With Mulikihaamea's death, 1799, the office of Tui Haa Takalaua became permanently vacant. The Tui Kanokupolu assumed the duties and evidently saw to it that no successor was appointed. It seems obvious, however, that the Tui Haa Takalaua had declined in power even more rapidly than the Tui Tonga and so fell an easy prey to the grasping Tui Kanokupolu. The similarity of functions of the two offices made the absorption the easier. Both largely handled the temporal and military affairs of the kingdom. The elimination of the Tui Haa Takalaua was a big step toward the ultimate goal of the Tui Kanokupolu, the kingship.

643 581 No small amount of the prestige of the Tui Kanokupolu's office was due to wise matrimonial alliances. The elder daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu was usually espoused by the Tui Tonga as his chief wife and mother of the next Tui Tonga.

A notable marriage was that of Atamataila (the second Tui Kanokupolu) to the Tamaha Tuimala, the most exalted personage in the kingdom. Some generations later Tupoulahisii (the tenth Tui Kanokupolu) married the Tamaha Latufuipeka.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Of marriages of Tui Kanokupolu to daughters of the Tui Tonga, but one is recorded, that of Mataeletuapiko to Fatafehi. Marriages to daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were more popular. The first recorded is that of Mataelehaamea to Kaloafutonga, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua (Vaea). The fifth Tui Kanokupolu (Vuna) married Lehauku, daughter of the twelfth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tui Onukulava); the thirteenth Tui Kanokupolu (Mumui) married Vaiolomoli, daughter of the tenth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tatafu), and Mulikihaamea (the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu and last Tui Haa Takalaua) married Tupouahau and Mapatoutai, daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha. 643 581

Although office in Tonga passes from father to son, rank is determined even more by the mother than by the father. Therefore a list of the mothers of the Tui Kanokupolu is of interest. 643 (611) (554)

1. Ngata. Mother, Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama of Safata, Upolu Island, Samoa. 643 173
2. Atamataila. Mother, Kaufoou, daughter of Ahomee. 175
3. Mataeletuapiko. Mother, Tokilupe, daughter of Tui Haa Tuunga, of Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island. 644
4. Mataelehaamea. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
5. Vuna. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Mother, Kaloafutonga, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea.
7. Tupoulahi. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
8. Maealiuaki. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
9. Tuihalafatai. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
10. Tupoulahisii. Mother, Uheina, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.
11. Mulikihaamea. Mother, Lupematakui, daughter of Tungimanaia, the Tui Haa Teiho.
12. Mumui. Mother, Popua.
13. Tupoumoheofo. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
14. Tukuaho. Mother, Lepolo, daughter of Atafakahau, the second Ata.
15. Maafulimuloa. Mother, Kaufusi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Mother, Pee.
17. Tupoutoa. Mother, Uluakilupetea.
18. Aleamotua. Josiah, or Tupou in Faletuipapai. Mother, Kaufusi, daughter of Fielakepa.
19. George I (Taufaahau I). Mother, Hoamofaleono, daughter of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
20. George II (Taufaahau II). Mother, Fusipala, son's daughter of Tui Kanokupolu George I.
21. Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. Mother, Lavinia Veiongo, daughter of Kupu.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Although the first Tui Kanokupolu probably took up his residence in Hihifo as lord of the people of western Tongatabu, that district was not the perpetual residence of this enterprising line of chiefs. In Cook's time the Tui Kanokupolu was residing at Mua, the seat of the Tui Tonga and the 643

cave 500 yards from Toula village, Vavau, which is reputed to contain 266
human bones which are the remains of cannibal feasts. This cave has an entrance at sea level and slopes upward to 50 feet elevation. It was not examined, but might well prove to be a burial cave.

Kaifakaau, an ancient chief of Utulau, Tongatabu, was said to have been a man-eater.

Nomuka Island, Haapai, was the home of a cannibal who is reported to have frequently made raids on Tongatabu for victims. (See p. 225.)
West (62, p. 271) gives this man's name as Uhila and says his cannibal [177]
propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji.

In the neighboring island of Fonoifua there dwelt another cannibal, Taifonoifua, perhaps a chief, though in another connection said to be a commoner, but a brave fighter. A valley on Fonoifua, from which heavy rains wash human bones, is reputed to be the place where he buried the bones of his victims. Tahifisi of Haalai, Foa Island, was also a cannibal. His name suggests that he was of Fijian origin (p. 151). Both of these men apparently lived about the close of the nineteenth century.

The following account refers to Tahifisi, the cannibal chief or matapule of Haalai, Foa Island, Haapai.

> There were twins brought to Lotofoa from Haalai to escape from the cannibal chief 266
> Tahifisi who used to roast people at Haalai. Some of the people were still alive and 725
> these twins were brought from there. They recruited the people of Lotofoa to dig 173
> a fortress in preparation for the coming of Tahifisi. After a time when this was finished some more people fled from Tahifisi at Haalai and sought shelter at Lotofoa. Whereupon the twins gave instructions to have the fortress gate toward Faleloa guarded, fearing Tahifisi might attempt entry there. The twins ordered all of the people to go and guard the Faleloa gate and leave the gate towards Fotua, which was called Tukutonunga, to them to look after. In the meantime Matauvave from Hihifo, Lifuka Island, was preparing to fight Lotofoa.
>
> When the twins heard of Matauvave's plans they took banana suckers and planted them in the sand at Fuhu in a row. Then they fetched unprinted tapa and arranged it on the tops of the banana plants and then placed torches here and there. In the evening they set fire to the torches. When Matauvave's warriors came marching along and saw the light from the torches, they thought that they were seen and that the attack would not be successful. So they then turned down to Ahanga and came to the ford called Makapulepule. The twins again went along and lighted the torches there and Matauvave's fighters again retreated. They then returned to Lotofoa, but found that the village had been burnt down by Tahifisi and his people. There still remained Tahifisi's people who first fled from him and some of Tahifisi's own people. After the burning of the village these people got together and decided to fight Tahifisi. They killed Tahifisi. That is how Tahifisi's food oven of people at Haalai came to be neglected. To this day the food oven is still untouched.

As to cannibalism in ancient times, there are but few references. The 266
first is to the killing and eating of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. The 643
story of the origin of kava, an event attributed to the reign of Momo, the 175
tenth Tui Tonga, gives a second example. Turner (59, p. 236) and Krämer [276]

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is re- 643
vealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal ooo
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and sub- 535
sequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a 162
church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were 311
one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa.
However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic [731]
eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. 162
Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper 166
by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants [797]
seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district 727
of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during 166
the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. 175
They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoipangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I
(Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it [669]
seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, 776
I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku 825
incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled 823
and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, 823
a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, [173]
3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for [361]
a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. 361
The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on 162
Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed 888
by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for 602
herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled. 825

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, 162
was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live [133]
on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of [166]
refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the disfavor [727]
of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought
in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with 628
the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have
attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for [712]
refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Totolate. [622]
There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest 131
for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude
22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of [166]
safety for the certain political refugees. [727]

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, 177
while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention 175
is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. [162]
Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later. [173]

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage 175
of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora,* says: "Running southward, he 162
made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in 1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed
in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high uninhabited [131]
spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude
22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of 166
Ata: 173

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities 266
> had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

[Niuatoputapu Island]

accorded its inhabitants by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, that they should 103
push away the boats of the Tongans, and not let them land. In Nukualofa, 123
at the time of my sojourn there, resided Maatu, the hereditary ruler of
Niuatoputapu and virtually king thereof. An opportunity was therefore
afforded of obtaining some information concerning that group.

Niuatoputapu was discovered on May 10, 1616, by the Dutch explorers 177
Schouten and Lemaire. It thus constitutes the earliest discovered portion 175
of the Tongan Archipelago. Basil Thomson (54, pp. 398, 399) gives an
account of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire. Wallis visited Niuatoputapu
on August 13, 1767. Nails, which he left there, were later found in the
possession of the Tui Tonga Pau by Captain Cook a few years later.

Niuatoputapu group comprises two islands, Niuatoputapu or Keppel 133
which rises to an altitude of 350 feet, and the volcanic cone of Tafahi or
Boscawen which is two thousand feet high. These islands are located in 131
latitude 16° south.

The Maatu whom I interviewed claimed to be the tenth ruler of the 634
line, the first ruler bearing the title of Latu, the title which Schouten and 622
Lemaire give for the ruler of Niuatoputapu. The following is the king 173
list as given by the Maatu of 1921. [123]

1. Latumailangi (chief from heaven) or Puakatefisi (pig from Fisi, a place on 634
Tafahi Island). Pigs seem to be especially associated with Tafahi Island from which 622
Puakatefisi came, for the people of the neighboring Niuatoputapu say of Tafahi, when 173
the clouds are around its summit, that the gods must be cooking pigs, for there is
the smoke. 551

2. Puakailakelo, son of 1. His name means "pig with yellow spots." It was he [825]
who is said to have changed the title from Latu to Maatu. The traditional reason [776]
for the change is as follows: Lavelua, the ruler of Uvea, came on a visit to Niuatoputapu, bringing with him his shell fishhook. In the dialect of Niuatoputapu such a fish hook is called *pa*. In the Uvean dialect it was called *utumaatu*. Latu fancied the name of the fish hook so the two kings traded fish-hook names. In Uvea such a fish hook was henceforth to be called *pa* and in Niuatoputapu it was to be called *utumaatu*. The ruler of the latter island then adopted the title of Maatu for himself and successors, discarding the older term Latu. In Uvea the old term *utumaatu* for fish hook became tapu. The Tamaha's genealogies have the following to say about Puakailakelo and his brother Pungakaitafola:

> There were two brothers, Pungakaitafola and Puakailakelo. Pungakaitafola was Maatu, but on account of his sickness (nose trouble) he allowed his younger brother Puakailakelo to take the title, and he became Maatu.
>
> A boat arrived from Niuafoou with two women, who were passengers, by name of Hekuau and Siulolovao; the latter was the child of Valamotu (daughter of Fusitua and Fotofili Alofi). Puakailakelo courted Hekuau, but she refused him as she had already a sweetheart at Niuafoou (Mailelatamai), and Siulolovao then accepted the courtship of Puakailakelo. Before Siulolovao had any children she adopted a little girl named Fataimoamanu as her first child to Puakailakelo. Fataimoamanu was the daughter of Alokuoulu the brother of Siulolovao.

[ca. 1830]

and became a priest of the gods." Just then a report was brought that Fakailoatonga 797
was dying, and I still gave Ulukalala advice. 798

When it was afternoon I told him, "I will go now to the sea, while you get ready your night dance," and he replied,

"All right."

And that night while the dance was being held Fakailoatonga died, and his body was taken to Makave. The next morning Taufaahau called me: "Come Peter, and we will go to the chief's funeral at Makave." And we went. After the funeral of the chief we went to plait baskets for carrying the sand to the grave.

The Vavauans embraced Christianity with great fervor. In 1835, there 797
was an outburst at Haakoka, Vavau; the people, becoming frenzied with 786 579
religious fervor, ran amuck. Many persons were killed.

Undoubtedly the Tongans of to-day are among the most devout of Chris- 795
tians, having accepted Christianity with a very full faith. The following 771
quotation from a manuscript by Mrs. Rachel Tonga, a devout Methodist, is typical of the faith which they hold. After describing the ancient belief as to the Water of Life called Vaiola, Mrs. Tonga proceeds: "But it is all nonsense. The only healing water is the blood of Jesus. Whoever believes in him will be healed. Whatever may be our sins, if we believe in his blood we will become healed."

HISTORICAL CONCLUSION

In this conclusion no attempt is made to summarize the contents of this 175
work. The probable periods of Tongan history are set forth below in 105
tabular form. It seems to me that four periods are distinguishable. The first is a pre-dynastic period before the coming to the throne of the dynasty of Tui Tonga, which terminated in 1865. The second period, which I have called the classic period, for during this period Tongan culture developed distinctive features, is further characterized by the expansion of the Tongan dominions. The third period is one marked by the decline and disintegration of the Tui Tonga's power. The fourth period is one of renaissance and European acculturation, with the Tui Kanokupolu supreme. The earlier dates given in the tabulation are only approximate.

I. Predynastic Period (before 950 A. D.; possibly beginning about 500 A. D.).
    Shell heaps probably the only cultural remains, though these continue to be formed down to our day.
    No legends that can be definitely connected.
    Shadowy reference to displacement of early rulers by Ahoeitu about 950 A. D.

II. Classic Period (950-1450).
    Tui Tonga I (Ahoeitu)—23 (Takalaua).
    Ahoeitu (1): Of divine origin.
    Tuitatui (11): Fijian and Samoan contacts prominent.
    Takalaua (23): Assassinated about 1450.
    Achievements of period: (a) Subjugation of Samoa, etc.; colonies probably established in Ellice, Tikopia, etc. (b) Development, or appearance, of great terraced stone tombs. (c) Trilithon erected.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

III. Period of Decline and Disintegration (1450-1845). 175 105
- Appointment of first Tui Haa Takalaua (1470).
- Appointment of first Tui Kanokupolu (1610).
- Vuna's campaign against Vavau (1700).
- Death of last Tui Haa Takalaua (1799).
- Rebellion of Ulukalala against Tui Kanokupolu (1799).
- Beginning of European contact.
  - Shouten and Lemaire (1616).
  - Tasman (1643).
  - Cook (1773, 1777).
  - London Mission (1797).
  - Methodist Mission (1822).
  - Catholic Mission (1842).

IV. Renaissance and European Acculturation (1845——).
- George I becomes Tui Kanokupolu in 1845; his life 1799-1893 (the "Grand Old Man").
- Death of last Tamaha (1852).
- Death of last Tui Tonga (1865).
- Accession of George II (1893).
- Establishment of the British protectorate (1900).
- Accession of Charlotte (1918).

The parallels in the social organization of Tonga and the remainder of 105
Polynesia and Micronesia are obvious. Beyond Oceania, Tongan social or- 171
ganization suggests that of ancient Japan. The general course of political development in the two countries is also superficially parallel, though Tonga is but a miniature replica of Japan in this respect, the Tui Tonga corresponding to the Mikado, the Tui Kanokupolu to the Shogun. In both countries society was patrilineal; the patrilineal groups traced descent for many generations, sometimes back to a god; and each patrilineal group had a patron deity; the members of the patrilineal groups were of unequal rank. In both countries great chiefs were buried in megalithic vaults in mounds. Both countries were characterized by lack of priestly rule. There are certain general resemblances in mythology and worship: Tongan and Shinto mythology are strikingly similar in tenor. The parallels are such as to suggest the possibility that the social organizations of Polynesia, Micro-
nesia, and Japan are genetically connected. It seems predictable that fur- 177
ther evidence will reveal two streams of influence into Polynesia, one from southeastern Asia via Malaysia, the other from Japan via Micronesia; the former bearing features of the theoretical Indo-Oceanic culture, the latter bearing the traits just enumerated.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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727 them leave to build a vessel for the express purpose, but in the progress of the work happening unfortunately to notch one of their axes, he refused any longer the use of them.

Thus cut off from all present hopes of escape, it became more than ever necessary to conform their minds to the manners and customs of the people whom they were among; but in a short time the ever changing events of war served to create a degree of activity in the mind, destructive of disagreeable reflections, and fruitless regrets.

128 As we are now about to enter upon a new scene of things, in which the political interests of these islands are particularly concerned, it becomes necessary to afford a general view of their history, from the time of Captain Cook; and particularly for the twelve or fifteen years previous to Mr. Mariner's arrival there, with a view to understand perfectly the state of things as he found it.

175 721 648 At the time when Captain Cook was at these islands, the habits of war were little known to the natives; the only quarrels in which they had at that time been engaged were among the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, about 120 leagues to the westward; for having been in the habit of visiting them for sandal wood, &c. they occasionally assisted one or other of the warlike par-

ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows 175
which before that period had been in use among 721
the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and 648
fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the 175
fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, 177
they speedily learned to construct bows 411
and arrows of a much more martial and formidable nature; and soon became acquainted with a better form of the spear, and a superior method of holding and throwing that missile weapon. They also imitated them by degrees in 175
the practice of painting their faces, and the use 177
of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce [714]
appearance, calculated to strike terror into the
minds of their enemies. These martial improvements [579]
were in their progress at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, but not in general practice; for having few or no civil dissensions among themselves, the knowledge of these things was confined principally to certain young chiefs and their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands.
Captain Cook describes some evolutions prac- [721]
tised by the natives as being forms of war, and [535]
indeed they have that appearance; but they [524]
are to be considered rather as games and dances, which the Tonga people had learnt from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest 175
natives could give any account of their first dis- 648

A [The Fiji Islands--Analyst]

175 covery of the Fiji islands, but say they went to 648 those islands before the Fiji people came to them: perhaps their canoes were drifted there by strong easterly winds.—Since Captain Cook's time, a certain chief at the island of Tonga*, where all the principal chiefs at that time resided, and whose name was Tooi Hala Fatai, having by former visits contracted the warlike habits of the Fiji islanders, became tired of the peaceful and idle life he led at home, and was therefore determined to repair again to those islands, in company with a number of young 175 men of the same unquiet disposition. They 721 were pleased with the Fiji maxim, that war and strife were the noble employments of men, and [177] ease and pleasure worthy to be courted only by the weak and effeminate. Tooi Hala Fatai ac- [484] cordingly set sail with his followers, about 250 in number, in three large canoes, for the island of Laemba; not to make an attack upon the place, but to join one party or the other, and rob, plunder, procure canoes, kill the natives, and in short to do any thing that was, accord-

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[101] * It must be observed that Tonga is the name of one of the largest of this cluster of islands, and that it gives name to all these islands taken collectively, as a capital town sometimes gives name to a country; and that it must be received in this latter sense wherever the words "island of" are not used before it.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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ing to their notions, active, noble, and glorious. 175
To give an instance of the spirit of these young 121
men, while yet at the island of Tonga, they on 484
one occasion, during the night, undermined a 579
storehouse of yams, cloth, mats, &c. and working their way up into the place, emptied it of every thing it contained; not that they wanted these things, for they were all independent chiefs, but thus they acted solely for their amusement. They had previously taken an 182
oath, by their respective tutelar Gods and their 626
fathers, not to betray one another under penalty of death; and if on these occasions they met with a stranger, who would not readily enter into their views, they put it out of his power to discover them, by dispatching him without farther ceremony.

This chief and his companions being arrived at the Fiji islands, employed themselves in the way suitable to their inclinations; sometimes joining one party, sometimes another, as caprice, or the hopes of plunder, led them: and as many of these islands were not only at war with one another, but also had civil dissensions among themselves, two or three garrisons on one island being in a state of warfare, one with another, (and this was the case in several of them) the new comers found a choice of employment ready prepared for them.

175 They remained here about two years and a
721 half, towards the end of which period they were
not contented with joining the wars of others,
but entered into one of their own, for the greater
acquirement of plunder: and their superior bravery
[484] rendered them very successful. Tired at
length with their long absence from home, they
[177] returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes
behind them, and coming away in the better
[165] formed ones of the Fiji islands. In their passage
however they experienced a heavy gale,
during which one of the canoes, with some of
175 the choicest men, was lost. On the arrival of
the remainder at the island of Tonga, they
669 found the place in a state of insurrection; the
cause and circumstances of which are as follow:

Long before the period of Tooi Hala Fatai's
175 expedition, Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the
669 throne; but had held the reins of government
643 not with the complete satisfaction of his people:
175 far from it. He is reported to have been a man
669 of a vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking
643 every opportunity to exert his authority; and
frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wanton:
644 as an instance of which, he on one occasion
304 gave orders (which were instantly obeyed,)
that twelve of his cooks, who were always in
waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava,
should undergo the amputation of their left

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arms, merely to distinguish them from other 175
men, and for the vanity of rendering himself 669
singular by this extraordinary exercise of his 643
authority. This and many other acts of cruelty
laid the groundwork for an insurrection, and a [644]
complete revolution in the affairs of Tonga. [304]

Toobó Nuha, a great chief, and brother of 175
Finow, conceived himself to be exceedingly op- 669
pressed by the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo; till at 643
length he determined to be free, or to die in 634
the attempt. With this view he often conversed
with Finow, (at that time tributary chief of the
Hapai islands,) sounding his opinion, and spur-
ring him on to the same resolution; with the
declaration, that if he would not assist him, he
would manage the whole conspiracy himself.
Led on partly by these persuasions, but princi-
pally by his own private views, Finow entered
into a league with Toobó Nuha. One evening 175
these two, attended by several of their usual 669
followers, waited on Toogoo Ahoo, as was now 643
and then customary, to pay their respects to 634
him, by presents of cava root, *gnatoo**, a pig, 726
and several baskets of yams; they then retired. [723]
This served as a plausible reason for their being [431]
that night in the neighbourhood of the king's
residence. About midnight they again repaired

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* The material of their wearing apparel.

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175 to his house with their followers, whom they
669 placed around it as watchful guards, ready to
643 dispatch all who might attempt to escape from
726 the place: of these Finow took the command,
634 whilst Toobó Nuha entered, armed with his axe,
[644] and burning with desire of revenge. As he
[302] passed along, on either hand lay the wives and
favourite mistresses of the king, the matchless
[301] beauties of Tonga, perfumed with the aroma of
sandal wood, and their necks strung with wreaths of the freshest flowers: the sanguinary chief could have wept over their fate, but the freedom of his country was at stake, and the opportunity was not to be lost*. He sought the mat of his destined victim, where he lay buried in the profoundest sleep: he stood over him for a short moment, but willing that he should know from whom he received his death, he struck him with his hand upon the face: Toogoo Ahoo started up,—"'Tis I, Toobó Nuha, that strike," and a tremendous blow felled him, never to rise again. Horror and confusion immediately took place: Toobó

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* Such were the sentiments which he afterwards expressed
[727] to Mr. Mariner. The sacrifice of these women, however barbarous, was strictly according to the general Tonga custom in such cases; where not only the individual enemy is destroyed, but also all who belong to him, even his women, that his party may be weakened and distressed as much as possible.

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Nuha snatched up the late king's adopted son, 726 175
(a child of three years old,) whom he was desirous of saving, and rushed out of the house as the 669
guards of Finow rushed in, when speedy death 634
silenced the screams of those who a little before [643]
lay reposed in the arms of sleep.

The two chiefs and their followers betook themselves, as quickly as possible, to Hahagi,
the northern part of the island. Early in the [202]
morning confusion and dismay reigned in the island of Tonga—men and women ran they knew not whither, unknowing whether to join this party or that—old men were seen making speeches to the people, encouraging them to avenge the death of their chief:—the numerous relations and friends of the deceased king ran about beating their breasts and weeping:—shells were heard blowing in every quarter, as the signals of war and disturbance,—here to assemble the friends of the late How*,—there to summon together the partisans of liberty.

Finow and Toobó Nuha, in the course of a few hours, assembled together a considerable number of adherents, with whom, after having launched their canoes in case their retreat from the island should be necessary, they proceeded to Hihifo (the place where the How was killed). When they arrived here, their first concern was

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* King.

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175 to destroy the enemy's canoes; and they succeeded
669 in doing it, after some opposition. They next
directed their march to the place where
726 the loyalists were assembled, about three quar-
634 ters of a mile distant from Hihifo, and a general battle took place, which lasted till night, with great slaughter on both sides: Finow's party, however, was at length repulsed, and forced to fly back to Hahagi, where it remained till the evening of the ensuing day, when an event happened which reinforced its strength, and gave the allied chiefs and their followers fresh spirits for the combat; this was the arrival of the two canoes with Tooi Hala Fatai and his bold adventurers from the Fiji islands. This chief and his warlike companions, ever ready to enter into a new contest, immediately joined Finow, and swore allegiance to his cause. The very evening of their landing, however, their leader, Tooi Hala Fatai, felt himself much indisposed; and as his disorder hourly increased, he was seized with the apprehension that his complaint was mortal. With this idea strongly impressed upon his mind, he proposed that they should sally forth as early as possible the ensuing morning, to meet the enemy while he had any strength remaining, that by this means he might escape the bed of sickness and die gloriously in the field of battle. Scarcely had the sun risen, when

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the three chiefs and their brave warriors were 175
already on their march towards Hihifo. * Their 669
equally brave and determined opponents met 726
them about half-way. Both paused as if instinctively
at the same moment. They summoned 634
up their spirits to endure a mighty and
bloody conflict: liberty on the one side, loyalty on
the other, fired them with the desire of performing
matchless achievements. The active and [703]
impetuous mind of Tooi Hala Fatai could brook
no delay: anxious to set the glorious example
of an heroic spirit, he and his Fiji warriors began
the battle by rushing forward on a party of the
enemy. Immediately the contest became general,
with such unconquerable determination on both
sides, that the plains of Tonga had perhaps

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* The following description of the battle is expressed in a [128]
style of language that may be thought not very consistent
with the sobriety of historical narration: but I have ventured to do this, because the natives always describe this battle in the strongest terms, as the first and one of the most bloody that ever was fought. On one side were the late king's nearest relations bravely fighting, each in the secret hope of obtaining a kingdom; on the other side were three chiefs of unconquerable spirit, one fighting for dominion, another for his reputation as a patriot, and the third, with a fierce and warlike mind, for the honour and glory of a name, setting his life at no consideration whatsoever. The circumstances of this battle, as here described, are strictly as related by the natives. The language in which it is expressed, is, according to Mr. Mariner's judgment, suitable with the poetic descriptions which he heard of it. From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society" it appears that this battle was fought on the 29th of May, 1799.

175 never before witnessed so tremendous a shock.
669 The brave Toobó Nuha, inspired by the greatness of his cause, with a resistless arm performed
726 prodigies of valour: when he stood, he stood
634 like a rock*—when he rushed, it was with the impetuosity of a hurricane: he raised his ponderous club only to give death his victim; and as he moved forward he strode over the bodies of fallen chiefs. In another part of the battle, Tooi Hala Fatai was seen moving onward in the path of victory; though he felt his strength gradually decreasing, yet the terror of his fiery eye paralysed the arms of his enemies; at length, fearful lest too speedy a conquest might deprive him of the opportunity of dying a warrior's death, he rushed with an exulting spirit into the thickest of the battle, and fell, pierced with spears, beneath the clubs of his adversaries. In the mean while, Finow was not an idle looker on: he fought with equal courage, but with a more steady and less presumptuous bravery; the greatest of his enemies fell beneath the weight of his club; and as his eye sated itself with the number of his opponents whom death had stretched upon the reeking plain, his ambitious mind, confident in victory, seemed already

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[192] * This is a phrase in use among them to express the firmness of a warrior in battle; *coe macca tofoo-be enne too*, a rock altogether (was) his standing.

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to enjoy the sweets and power of monarchy. 175
The battle raged for about three hours, when, 669
by the extraordinary exertions and achievements 726
principally of Toobó Nuha, who, as fame 634
reports, slew on that day forty with his own
hand,—the enemy became panic-struck, and fled
in all directions, conquered by that arm, which,
two days before, in giving Toogoo Ahoo his
death, had delivered the country from a tyrant. 634

Although the victory was so decisively in favour 175
of Finow, it cost him the lives of many of 669
his bravest men, and so far lessened his numerical 727
strength, as to render it prudent not to pursue
the enemy. After a consultation with his ally,
it was agreed on to proceed immediately to the 175
Hapai islands and Vavaoo, and look to their 669
own possessions, rather than run the risk of losing 723
them and their lives too in a dangerous war at 634
the island of Tonga, where the partisans of the
late How were particularly strong. They accordingly 175
set sail for the Hapai islands, and 669
landed at the nearest of them, Namooca, after 726
a slight resistance from a few of the adherents
of Toogoo Ahoo. They soon gained entire possession 634
of Namooca, and thence extended their
arms to the neighbouring islands, meeting with little
opposition, and gathering additional strength,
till they arrived at the island of Haano, where a
large body of the enemy were assembled and in

175 waiting ready to engage them. Here they had
669 an obstinate but decisive battle, which terminated
726 in favour of Finow. Thus was the
[634] conquest of all the Hapai islands secured, and
of which Finow was acknowledged king. In
this battle a number of chiefs and matabooles
175 (ministers and attendants of chiefs) were taken
669 prisoners, all of whom having been in the immediate
727 service of the late king, were, by the
[634] orders of Finow, put to death in various ways.
[565] Some were sent on board old and useless canoes,
which were then scuttled, and immediately sunk;
others were taken three or four leagues out to
sea, and being put in old leaky canoes, and tied
hand and foot, were left gradually to meet their
[634] fate. Those against whom Finow entertained
the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island
of Lofanga, and there tied naked to stakes
driven in the ground, or to the trunks of trees,
and left to starve to death: whilst they were in
this miserable situation, it is painful to relate the
cruelty exercised towards them by some of the
natives of the place; it must, however, be acknowledged
that the ill treatment they received
was chiefly at the hands of thoughtless boys,
who would stick sharp splinters of wood into
their bodies, and tantalize them by showing
them provisions, without giving them any. Notwithstanding
their exposure to the raging heat

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of the sun, several of them bore their torments 175
with the greatest fortitude, although lingering 669
till the eighth day; others of weaker constitution 727
died in three or four days. Ever since that
time the natives of the place superstitiously [775]
believe that they can hear their groans frequently at different times during the night:—but this no doubt is occasioned by the roaring of the surf at a distance, or of the sea in subterraneous caverns, which, working upon the imagination, to a certain extent may resemble the groans of dying people *.

Finow, and his ally Toobó Nuha, after public 175
rejoicings at Haano, embarked for Vavaoo, 669
where they were allowed to land without opposition. 726
The people of this island, however, had
heard of the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo by 634
a canoe from the Hapai islands, and were determined to resist the claims of Finow, not by an open war, but in a mode much more harassing and tedious; and he accordingly found the reduction of Vavaoo exceedingly troublesome and dangerous. The enemy, always avoiding a general engagement, frequently molested them with sudden and violent assaults, either under cover of the darkness of the night, or during the day

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* The natives do not regard this as any thing awful, or as a memento of the crime of their chief, but as a matter of curiosity, without attempting to assign any reason for it.

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175 from their hiding-places. This mode of warfare
669 so exasperated Finow, who was not on such occasions
726 of the mildest temper, that he gave
[727] orders that all prisoners who were chiefs should
be reserved for future and exemplary punishment.
[565] The contest lasted about fourteen or
fifteen days, during which time the two chiefs
separated, and scoured the island all over, conquering
wherever they met with opposition. At
[651] length Voona, the chief of Vavaoo, having fled
to Hamoa (the Navigator's islands) with a canoe
full of other chiefs, Finow found himself master
of the whole place, and was declared king, but
he gave up the government of it to Toobó Nuha,
as a sort of viceroy, to pay him an annual tribute.
175 The prisoners, at least all that were
669 chiefs, were punished and put to death by means
727 too revolting to the feelings to mention. All
affairs being settled at Vavaoo, Finow returned
to the Hapai islands, to meditate future attempts
upon the island of Tonga.

In the mean time affairs went on very badly
175 at Tonga: Toogoo Ahoo left neither son nor
669 brother to succeed him; but he had several
643 distant relations, who put in claims for the sovereignty:
thus was a violent civil contention
induced, and the island was soon divided into
175 several petty states. In the course of a little
669 time, each party had built a fort for itself, so
712

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that there were at least twelve or thirteen different 175
garrisoned places upon the island; each, 669
in a state of warfare with all the rest, was determined
to maintain its claims as long as it had [712]
strength to do so. Thus was the island of [731]
Tonga, to which war had hitherto been a stranger,
torn by civil strife, and at times given up a prey to famine, a situation worse perhaps than that under the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo. Besides their domestic troubles, every year they were disturbed by attacks from Finow, who made it his annual custom to make a descent upon one or other of their fortresses, and sometimes upon several of them in the same season; but they were all so well fortified and intrenched, that their enemy, however powerful, consisting of the Hapai people, under the command of Finow, and the Vavaoo people, under that of Toobó Nuha, had never succeeded, at the time of Mr. Mariner's first arrival, in taking or destroying a single fort; that is to say, during the space of seven or eight years.

This piece of history Mr. Mariner heard not 175
only from Finow, but also from Toobo Nuha, 642
Tooitonga, and a number of other chiefs, as 643
well also, though in detached portions, from 634
several of the inhabitants of the island of Tonga, 124
and has found an uniform agreement and con-

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175 sistency in all their accounts. From this it will
642 appear, that at the time of Captain Cook's visit,
the whole of Tonga, (that is to say the island
643 of Tonga, the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,) was
634 under the sôle dominion of Toogoo Ahoo, whose
[124] seat of government was on the island of Tonga,
[651] and who received tributes from Finow, chief of
the Hapai islands, and from Voona*, chief of
Vavaoo: that at the time of Mr. Mariner's first
arrival the island of Tonga was, and had been
for several years, divided into various petty
states, all at war with one another; whilst Finow was king of the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,
and Toobó Nuha only tributary chief of the
latter place.

Mr. Mariner and those of his companions who
669 were with him at the island of Lefooga, (and
713 were four in number,) received orders from the
722 king to prepare for the usual annual attack upon
727 the island of Tonga, and to get ready four 12
pound carronades. They immediately set to
work, to mount them upon new carriages with
high wheels, made by the native carpenters,
[726] under their directions. This being done, Finow

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* Voona, it is related, did not pay his tributes regularly as he ought to have done, but being a powerful chief, and his possessions so far from the seat of government, Toogoo Ahoo had never ventured to take hostile measures.

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669 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the
266 smile on the countenance of the man, that it
727 was human liver; overcome by disgust, he
threw it in the man's face, who only laughed, and asked him if it were not better to eat good meat than die of hunger.

175 When Captain Cook visited these islands,
266 cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst
261 them: but the Fiji people soon taught them
[177] this, as well as the art of war, and a famine,
[731] which happened some time afterwards, rendered
the expedient for a time almost necessary. On this occasion they way-laid and murdered one another to supply themselves with food; and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers, who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt to come and partake of a large yam, which they said they had secretly procured the poor woman, glad of the idea of getting something to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her nephews, went to their house, where they soon dispatched her, and she herself formed the
[525] materials of a repast. Since that period, there
was a great scarcity at one of the fortresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place agreed to play at the game of lafo* against two

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* This game will be described in the second volume of the work.

175

young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon 266
the following conditions: if the girls won the 261
game, they were to divide a yam, which they 525
had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes 724
returned from the Hapai islands with a supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of
the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of 766
Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury 727
the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

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133 727 518 [177]

have some sinister intent: such precaution was by no means unnecessary, as this species of treachery, when it can be performed secretly, is not unusual, particularly among great warriors, when they have some petty interest to consult. This, however, is not to be considered the natural disposition of the Tonga people, but a practice which, along with that of war, they have learned from the natives of the Fiji islands, where a man seldom goes out, even perhaps with his greatest friend, without being armed, and cautiously upon his guard. Mr. Mariner had, therefore, provided himself with a pistol, as a defence against any violent measures on the part of his companion. On their return down the mountain, he told his companion that he might have shot him dead, and nobody would have been the wiser, to which the man replied, "I see you are *loto boto* *, like "the Fiji people;" meaning that he possessed policy and caution against treachery; and added, "as I am unarmed, it is a proof that *I* "had no ill design, and therefore did not suspect any in you."

727 [175] [726]

Whilst on this island, Mr. Mariner went to see the grave of an Englishman, John Norton, belonging to the boat of the Bounty, Captain Bligh, whose crew had mutinied. He was led

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* Of a wise mind.

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727 to visit this spot from a motive of curiosity,
excited by the account which the natives had
175 given him of the death of this man. Lest,
726 however, the reader may have forgotten this
175 particular circumstance in the narrative of
Captain Bligh, we shall first give the account
726 as related by this gentleman. Having put into this island for supplies, and after having remained a few days, he discovered that the natives had a design against him; in consequence of which he made the best of his way with his men to the boat: the narrative then proceeds in the following words:

"When I came to the boat, and was seeing the people embark, Nageete wanted me to stay to speak to Eefow; but I found he was encouraging them to the attack, and I determined, had it then begun, to have killed him for his treacherous behaviour. I ordered the carpenter not to quit me until the other people were in the boat. Nageete, finding I would not stay, loosed himself from my hold, and went off, and we all got into the boat, except one man, who, while I was getting on board, quitted it, and ran up the beach to cast the stern-fast off, notwithstanding the master and others calling him to return, while they were hauling me out of the water.

"I was no sooner in the boat than the attack

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began by about two hundred men; the unfortunate poor man, who had run up the beach, was knocked down, and the stones flew like a shower of shot. Many Indians got hold of the stern rope, and were near hauling us on shore, and would certainly have done it, if I had not had a knife in my pocket, with which I cut the rope. We then hauled off to the grapnel, every one being more or less hurt. At this time I saw five of the natives about the poor man they had killed, and two of them were beating him about the head with stones in their hands.

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726

"We had no time to reflect, before, to my surprise, they filled their canoes with stones, and twelve men came off after us to renew the attack, which they did so effectually as nearly to disable all of us. Our grapnel was foul, but Providence here assisted us; the fluke broke, and we got to our oars and pulled to sea. They, however, could paddle round us, so that we were obliged to sustain the attack without being able to return it, except with such stones as lodged in the boat, and in this I found we were very inferior to them. We could not close, because our boat was lumbered and heavy, and that they knew very well: I therefore adopted the expedient of throwing overboard some clothes, which they lost time in picking

175 up; and, as it was now almost dark, they gave
726 over the attack, and returned towards the shore, leaving us to reflect on our unhappy situation.

"The poor man I lost was John Norton: this was his second voyage with me as quartermaster, and his worthy character made me lament his loss very much. He has left an aged parent, I am told, whom he supported."

The account the natives gave was to the following purport. Part of Captain Bligh's crew had been on shore to procure water, and had all returned into their boat, except one man who was making the best of his way after his companions, with an axe in his hand; some of the natives, perceiving the axe, resolved to possess themselves of it, particularly one of them, who was a carpenter; they accordingly pursued him, and this carpenter, throwing a stone at him, knocked him down, and, coming up, beat him on the head with stones till he was dead. They then stripped the body, and dragged it up the country towards a malai, where they left it exposed two or three days,
727 and afterwards buried it near the spot. They
said very little about a general attack, merely
[175] stating, that some of the natives threw stones
[726] at Captain Bligh's boat; and Mr. Mariner, at
[824] that time, not having read the narrative, did

not enquire into such particulars as he otherwise 727 would have done: but the most wonderful 824 part of the story is, that the whole track of ground through which the body was dragged [175] had ever since been destitute of grass, as well [726] as the spot on which it lay for two or three days. It was this circumstance, principally, that engaged Mr. Mariner to visit the place, and there, indeed, he found the bare track of ground from the beach to near the place where they say he was buried; nor has it much the appearance of a beaten path, besides that it leads to and from places, where there are but few inhabitants: at the termination of this track there is a bare place, lying transversely, about the length and breadth of a man.

However trivial such relations may appear 771 in themselves, they are worth mentioning, with 824 a view to contrast them with the accounts given by credible travellers, that they may tend to prove how far the statements of the natives may be depended on; besides which, in some instances, as in the present, they shew what kind of superstitions they are subject to (for another instance of this kind, see the affair of the missionaries, p. 61). As to the bare track, although it may not now have much the appearance of a beaten path, owing to the grass having grown irregularly on either side, yet there

islands, and the people are greater cannibals. 000
At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be 171
remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so 266
called) is constantly in a state of war, and 664
scarcity consequently is much more common
there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and 261
cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at.
At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman
habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji
islands, but then it has not been the scene
of warfare for more than about twenty years,
whereas the latter nation has been familiar,
more or less, with this scourge of the human
race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may men- 175
tion, that at Tonga, the natives report that some 721
time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an
European ship touched there, the boat of which,
on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with
some of the natives, in consequence of which,
three of her crew were killed and dragged up
the country. These the natives embowelled 175
and dressed the same as pork, and several ate 727
heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they 266
were all taken very ill, being attacked with [165]
nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and
three of them actually died. Some of the na- [829]
tives attributed this circumstance to an un-
wholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

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175 to the superior power of the gods of England,
727 in the way of revenge for killing white men.
266 They were strongly corroborated in their opinion
829 of the superiority of the gods of England,
by the circumstance that almost every man who
829 had been actively concerned in the conspiracy
727 against the Port au Prince happened either to
[165] be killed in battle or to die of disease, during
the time Mr. Mariner remained at these islands;
and they would often question him whether it
were not owing to the interference of the English
gods as a punishment; to which he always
answered them in the affirmative, with a
view to his own safety, and to inspire them with
respect for the invisible powers, which, according
to their notions, presided over the welfare
of England and of Englishmen. Some of the
natives, in joke, used to say, that they would kill
Mr. Mariner, to see if the hotooas (gods) of
England would revenge his death, alleging their
disbelief in the unsolicited agency of the English
hotooas, and their opinion rather that Mr.
Mariner himself had been the cause of their
death by his prayers, soliciting his gods to revenge
[565] the death of his countrymen. This,
however, was a notion chiefly of the lower
orders: the higher classes were of opinion, that
the hotooas of England operated of their own
accord, without any intervention or prayer.

pair of trowsers and shirt, and he fulfilled his 727
duty with the rest of the sailors: though there 721
was, as Mr. Mariner conceived, a great deal in his manner and watchful eye that looked badly. Just upon the ship's departure, however, he got into a canoe, and told the captain that he had changed his mind and would remain where he was, and went on shore without returning the trowsers and shirt. Mr. Mariner afterwards heard, in China, that he had served the captain of the schooner before mentioned exactly in the same way. The gentleman from whom he had this information in China received it from the captain himself, who, at the same time, expressed his firm opinion, that this man meant to take an European ship the first opportunity, or at least to be instrumental in doing it, by giving the natives instructions how it was best to be done. We forbear repeating the name of this individual, lest the reports of him should have been greatly exaggerated; there is too much reason to fear, however, that his designs were bad, and this notice may serve as a hint to ships
who may hereafter touch there. The character 181
of the Hapai people is not naturally more trea- 622
cherous than that of the people of Vavaoo; but
as they have more petty chiefs whose interest 175
they have to consult, the opportunity for treachery is perhaps more frequent: and if our great

727 circumnavigator[A], whose death the world has so
721 much reason to deplore, had known them in
[181] this respect, he would not have misnamed them
[622] *friendly;* for, in fact, they had deliberately
[175] planned a conspiracy against him, and which
would infallibly have been put in execution, if
the chiefs who planned it had not disputed about
the exact mode and time of making the assault.
721 Finow (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai
175 islands, Toogoo Ahoo being king), was not the
723 designer of this conspiracy, but he gave counsel
634 and advice respecting it. The other chiefs proposed to invite the captain and his officers to a grand bo-mêë (a night dance by torch-light), and at a signal to massacre him, his officers, and all the marines; but Finow (the late king's father), objected to this, as the darkness of the night would be unfavourable to their operations in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather that it should be done by day, and that they should seize the opportunity of making the attack on the occasion of a grand entertainment which was shortly to be given to him in honour of his arrival, and after they were all destroyed, the men, who would naturally come in search of him, were to be conducted to the further part of the island under pretence that he was there, and *they* were then to be destroyed in like manner: and thus the two ships, their

A [Captain Cook--Analyst]

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crews being so weakened, might be taken (as they 721
supposed), with ease. The entertainment was 175
prepared, and Captain Cook and several officers 723
being invited were present; it happened, however, 634
a little before the appointed time when the
signal was to be given, that most of the chiefs
still expressed their opinion that the night-time
would have been better than the day, and Finow,
finding that the majority were of this opinion,
was much vexed, and immediately forbad
it to be done at all. Thus, no signal being
given, the amusements went on without interruption,
and Captain Cook and his officers were
much pleased with their entertainment, acknowledging
it to be far better than any other that
they had received at the Friendly islands. (See
his third voyage.) Mr. Mariner had this information 727
at different times from several chiefs who 724
were present, and in particular from Finow himself,
(the father of the present king, and son of the
chief who was at the head of the conspiracy.)

As every information must be interesting 728
which regards the history or fate of this great
and good man, to whom society owes so much,
we cannot omit mentioning some circumstances,
subsequent to his death, upon which the above
anecdote so naturally leads the mind to reflect.
The people of the Tonga islands behaved to- 723
wards Cook with every external demonstration 175
171

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723 of friendship, whilst they secretly meant to kill
175 him; and the people of the Sandwich islands,
171 although they actually did kill him, have paid, and still continue to pay him, higher honours than any other nation of the earth; they esteem him as having been sent by the gods to civilize them, and one to whom they owe the greatest
000 blessings they enjoy. His bones (the greater part of which they have still in their possession!) they devoutly hold sacred; they are deposited in a house consecrated to a god, and are annually carried in procession to many other consecrated houses, before each of which they are laid on the ground, and the priest returns thanks to the gods for having sent them so great a man. When the Port au Prince was at Woahoo (one of the Sandwich islands), Mr. Mariner was informed of the above circumstances by an Englishman (or perhaps an American), who was a resident there: his name was ——— Harebottle; he seemed a man of some information and respectability, and was formerly the mate of an American vessel that touched there, but, in consequence of some disagreement with the captain, he chose to remain at those islands, and acted in the capacity of harbour-master to the king, and pilot to all ships that arrived, from each of which he demanded five or six dollars for his services. This person informed Mr. Ma-

577 Prince, and the atrocious circumstances attending
721 it: the assassination of Toobo Nuha; the
[661] treachery of Tarky', chief of the garrison of
Bea (vol. i. p. 114)? But what stands forward
[175] both prominent and glaring, and the truth of
which their own confession establishes, is, the serious design they entertained of assassinating Captain Cook and his officers at Lefooga, the 18th of May 1777, and putting to death their acknowledged great and good benefactor! (See vol. ii. p. 60.)

If we were to measure their conduct by the
577 notions of virtue, honour, and humanity received
among enlightened nations, we should do them great wrong, and forfeit our own titles to the epithets of just and honourable: we shall therefore endeavour to ascertain in what *their* notions of honour consist, and judge them upon their
577 own principles. Their ideas of honour and
703 justice do not very much differ from ours except in degree, they considering some things more honourable than we should, and others much less so: but they have one principle which to a greater or less extent is universally held among them, which is, that it is every man's duty to obey the orders of his superior chief in all instances, good or bad, unless it be to fight against a chief still superior; and even in this case it would not be actually dishonour-

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be revengeful. In the mean while, we ought 577
not to exculpate from all fault the men who 703
obeyed their chief on the above occasion: they [181]
were guilty not because they obeyed, but because
they obeyed with willingness, in hope of
obtaining what to them were riches. In respect 175
to the intended assassination of Captain Cook, 721
every native of Tonga would have considered
it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for 577
which probably the gods would have punished
them. Toobo Nuha's assassination of Toogoo 669
Ahoo was esteemed rather a virtue than a 577
crime; but Toobo Toa's assassination of Toobo 661
Nuha was held a very atrocious act, offensive to
the gods. An old mataboole used to say, that 682
useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive 784
to the gods; and that he never remembered
a man guilty of it but who either lived
unhappily, or came to an untimely end.

Theft is considered by them an act of mean- 685
ness rather than a crime; and although some of 673
the chiefs themselves have been known to be
guilty of it on board ships, it is nevertheless not
approved of. Their excuse is the strength of
the temptation: the chiefs that would do it are,
however, few.

From the above considerations, we are dis- 577
posed to say, that the notions of the Tonga
people, in respect to honour and justice, as we

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explanation we shall elucidate by notes. The 128
date of the following circumstances is the 18th of May, 1777.

"Next morning early, Feenow and Omai, 175
"who scarcely ever quitted the chief, and now 648
"slept on shore, came on board. The object "of their visit was to require my presence "upon the island. After some time, I accompanied them; and upon landing was conducted to the same place where I had been "seated the day before, and where I saw a "large concourse of people already assembled. "I guessed that something more than ordinary "was in agitation, but could not tell what, nor "could Omai inform me.

"I had not been long seated before near a 175
"hundred of the natives appeared in sight, 648
"and advanced laden with yams, bread-fruit, 491
"plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They "deposited their burdens in two heaps or piles, "upon our left, being the side they came from. "Soon after arrived a number of others from "the right, bearing the same kind of articles, "which were collected into two piles on that "side. To these were tied two pigs and six "fowls, and to those upon the left six pigs and "two turtles. Earoupa seated himself before [651]
"the several articles upon the left, and another "chief before those upon the right, they being,

175 " as I judged, the two chiefs who had collected
648 " them by order of Feenow, who seemed to be
[431] " as implicitly obeyed here as he had been at
[651] " Anamooka: and in consequence of his com-
" manding superiority over the chiefs of Ha-
" paee, had laid this tax upon them for the
" present occasion.

" As soon as this munificent collection of
" provisions was laid down in order, and dis-
" posed to the best advantage, the bearers of it
" joined the multitude, who formed a large
" circle round the whole. Presently after, a
" number of men entered this circle or area be-
" fore us, armed with clubs made of the green
" branches of the cocoa-nut tree. These pa-
" raded about for a few minutes and then re-
" tired; the one half to one side and the other
" half to the other side, seating themselves be-
175 " fore the spectators. Soon after, they suc-
648 " cessively entered the lists, and entertained us
541 " with single combats. One champion rising
" up and stepping forward from one side, chal-
" lenged those of the other side, by expressive
" gestures more than by words, to send one of
" their body to oppose him. If the challenge
" was accepted, which was generally the case,
" the two combatants put themselves in proper
" attitudes, and then began the engagement,
" which continued till one or other owned him-

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" self conquered, or till their weapons were 175
" broken. As soon as each combat was over, 648
" the victor squatted himself down facing the 541
" chief, then rose up and retired. At the " same time, some old men who seemed to sit " as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words; " and the multitude, especially those on the side " to which the victor belonged, celebrated the " glory which he had acquired, in two or three " huzzas.

" This entertainment was now and then suspended 175
" for a few minutes. During these in- 648
" tervals there were both wrestling and boxing 542
" matches. The first were performed in the " same manner as at Otaheite, and the second " differed very little from the method practised " in England. But what struck us with most " surprise was, to see a couple of lusty wenches " step forth and begin boxing without the least " ceremony, and with as much art as the men. " This contest, however, did not last above half " a minute, before one of them gave it up. The " conquering heroine received the same applause " from the spectators which they bestowed " upon the successful combatants of the " other sex. We expressed some dislike at this " part of the entertainment, which, however, " did not prevent two other females from entering " the lists. They seemed to be girls of

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175 "spirit, and would certainly have given each
648 "other a good drubbing, if two old women had
542 "not interposed to part them*. All these "combats were exhibited in the midst of, at "least, three thousand people, and were conducted with the greatest good humour on all "sides; though some of the champions, women "as well as men, received blows which doubtless they must have felt for some time after.

175 "As soon as these diversions were ended,
648 "the chiefs told me that the heaps of provi-
431 "sions on our right hand were a present to "Omai, and that those on our left hand, being "about two thirds of the whole quantity, were "given to me. He added, that I might take "them on board whenever it was convenient, "but that there would be no occasion to set "any of our people as guards over them, as I "might be assured that not a single cocoa-nut "would be taken away by the natives. So it "proved, for I left every thing behind and returned to the ship to dinner, carrying the "chief with me, and when the provisions were "removed on board in the afternoon, not a single article was missing. There was as much "as loaded four boats, and I could not but be "struck with the munificence of Feenow, for

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* The women are always soon parted.

"this present far exceeded any I had ever 175
"received from any of the sovereigns of the 648
"various islands I had visited in the Pacific 431
"Ocean. I lost no time in convincing my "friend that I was not insensible of his liberality; for before he quitted my ship I bestowed upon him such of our commodities as I "guessed were most valuable in his estimation. "And the return I made was so much to his "satisfaction, that as soon as he got on shore "he left me still indebted to him, by sending "me a fresh present, consisting of two large "hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and "some yams."

Here follows an *imperfect* account of the 128
dance called *mēē too bu'ggi*, but which we shall now omit, and quote a fuller description of it afterwards. Other circumstances not necessary here to enumerate are also omitted. After describing an exhibition of fire-works, the account goes on thus:

"Our water and sky rockets, in particular, 175
"pleased and astonished them beyond all con- 648
"ception; and the scale was now turned in "our favour. This, however, seemed only to [535]
"furnish them with an additional motive to [545]
"proceed to fresh exertions of their very singular dexterity, and our fire-works were no "sooner ended than a succession of dances

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175 " which Feenow got ready for our entertain-
648 " ment began. As a prelude to them, a band
545 " of music, or chorus of eighteen men, seated
535 " themselves before us, in the centre of the
" circle composed by the numerous spectators,
175 " the area of which was to be the scene of the
648 " exhibitions. Four or five of this band had
545 " pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or
533 " six feet long, each managed by one man, who
[534] " held it nearly in a vertical position, the upper
" end open, but the other end closed by one
" of the joints. With this close end the per-
" formers kept constantly striking the ground,
" though slowly, thus producing different notes
" according to the different lengths of the in-
" struments, but all of them of the hollow or
" base sort; to counteract which a person kept
" striking quickly, and with two sticks, a piece
" of the same substance, split and laid along
" the ground, and by that means furnishing a
" tone as acute as those produced by the others
" were grave. The rest of the band, as well as
" those who performed upon the bamboos, sung
" a slow and soft air, which so much tempered
" the harsher notes of the above instruments,
" that no by-stander, however accustomed to
" hear the most perfect and varied modulations
" of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the
" vast power and pleasing effect of this harmony.

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“ The concert having continued about a 175
“ quarter of an hour, twenty women entered, 648
“ the circle. Most of them had upon their 545
“ heads garlands of the crimson flowers of the 533
“ China rose, or others; and many of them had [301]
“ ornamented their persons with leaves of trees,
“ cut with a deal of nicety about the edges.
“ They made a circle round the chorus, turning
“ their faces toward it, and began by singing a
“ soft air, to which responses were made by the
“ chorus in the same tone, and these were re-
“ peated alternately. All this while the wo- [535]
“ men accompanied their song with several
“ very graceful motions of their hands towards
“ their faces, and in other directions, at the
“ same time making constantly a step forward,
“ and then back again with one foot, while the
“ other was fixed. They then turned their
“ faces to the assembly, sung some time, and
“ retreated slowly in a body to that part of the
“ circle which was opposite the hut where the
“ principal spectators sat. After this, one of 175
“ them advanced from each side, meeting and 648
“ passing each other in the front, and continu- 545
“ ing their progress round till they came to the 535
“ rest: on which two advanced from each side,
“ two of whom passed each other and returned
“ as the former; but the other two remained,
“ and to these came one from each side by

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175 648 "intervals, till the whole number had again formed a circle about the chorus.

545 535 "Their manner of dancing was now changed to a quicker measure, in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping, and clapped their hands, and snapped their fingers, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus. Toward the end, as the quickness of the music increased, their gestures and attitudes were varied with wonderful vigour and dexterity; and some of their motions, perhaps, would with us be reckoned rather indecent. Though this part of the performance, most probably, was not meant to convey any wanton ideas: but merely to display the astonishing variety of their movements*.

"To this grand female ballet succeeded one performed by fifteen men. Some of them were old; but their age seemed to have altered little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were disposed in a sort of circle, divided at the front, with their faces not turned out toward the assembly, nor inward to the chorus; but one half of the circle faced forward as they had advanced, and the other half in a contrary direction. They

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* Our accurate observer is perfectly correct.

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" sometimes sung slowly in concert with the 175
" chorus; and while thus employed they also 648
" made several very fine motions with their 545
" hands, but different from those made by the 535
" women; at the same time inclining the body " to either side alternately, by raising one leg " which was stretched outward, and resting on " the other: the arm of the same side being " also stretched fully upward. At other times " they recited sentences in a musical tone, " which were answered by the chorus; and at " intervals increased the measure of the dance, " by clapping the hands, and quickening the " motions of the feet, which, however, were " never varied. At the end, the rapidity of " the music and of the dancing increased so " much, that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the different movements; though one " might suppose the actors were now almost " tired, as their performance had lasted near " half an hour.

" After a considerable interval, another act, 175
" as we may call it, began. Twelve men now 648
" advanced, who placed themselves in double 545
" rows, fronting each other, but on opposite 535
" sides of the circle; and on one side a man 533
" was stationed, who, as if he had been a " prompter, repeated several sentences, to " which the twelve new performers and the

175 " chorus replied. They then sung slowly, and
648 " afterwards danced and sung more quickly
545 " for about a quarter of an hour, after the
535 " manner of the dancers whom they had suc-
533 " ceeded.

" After this, we had a dance composed of
" the men who attended or had followed Fee-
" now. They formed a double circle (i. e. one
" within another), of twenty-four each, round
" the chorus, and began a gentle soothing song,
" with corresponding motions of the hands and
" head. This lasted a considerable time, and
" then changed to a much quicker measure,
" during which they repeated sentences either
" in conjunction with the chorus, or in answer
" to some spoken by that band. They then
" retreated to the back part of the circle as
" the women had done, and again advanced on
" each side in a triple row, till they formed a
" semicircle, which was done very slowly, by
" inclining the body on one leg, and advancing
" the other a little way as they put it down.
" They accompanied this with such a soft air
" as they had sung at the beginning, but soon
" changed it to repeat sentences in a harsher
" tone, at the same time quickening the dance
" very much, till they finished with a general
" shout and clap of the hands. The same was
" repeated several times; but at last they

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" formed a double circle as at the beginning, 175
" danced and repeated very quickly, and finally 648
" closed with several very dexterous transposi- 545
" tions of the two circles. 535

" The entertainments of this memorable [533]
" night concluded with a dance, in which the
" principal people present exhibited. It re-
" sembled the immediately preceding one in
" some respects, having the same number of
" performers, who began nearly in the same
" way: but their ending at each interval was
" different; for they increased their motions
" to a prodigious quickness, shaking their heads
" from shoulder to shoulder, with such force,
" that a spectator unaccustomed to the sight
" would suppose that they ran a risk of dislo-
" cating their necks. This was attended with
" a smart clapping of the hands, and a kind of
" savage holla! or shriek, not unlike what is
" sometimes practised in the comic dances in
" our European theatres. They formed the 175
" triple semicircle as the preceding dancers 648
" had done, and a person who advanced at the 545
" head on one side of the semicircle began, by 535
" repeating something in a truly musical recita- 533
" tive, which was delivered with an air so grace-
" ful, as might put to the blush our most ap-
" plauded performers. He was answered in
" the same manner by the person at the head

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175 " of the opposite party. This being repeated
648 " several times, the whole body on one side
545 " joined in the responses to the whole corre-
535 " sponding body on the opposite side, as the
533 " semicircle advanced to the front; and they
" finished by singing and dancing, as they had
" begun.

" These two last dances were performed with so much spirit, and so great exactness, that they met with universal approbation. The native spectators, who, no doubt, were perfect judges whether the several performances were properly executed, could not withhold their applauses at some particular parts; and even a stranger who never saw the diversion before felt similar satisfaction at the same instant. For though, through the whole, the most strict concert was observed, some of the gestures were so expressive, that it might be said they spoke the language that accompanied them, if we allow that there is any connexion between motion and sound. At the same time it should be observed, that though the music of the chorus and that of the dancers corresponded, constant practice in these favourite amusements of our friends seems to have a great share in effecting the exact time they keep in their performances. For we observed that if any of them happened

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" accidentally to be interrupted, they never 175
" found the smallest difficulty in recovering the 648
" proper place of the dance or song: and their 545
" perfect discipline was in no instance more re- 535
" markable than in the sudden transitions they 533
" so dexterously made from the ruder exer-
" tions and harsh sounds, to the softest airs and
" gentlest movements.

" About eleven o'clock (in the morning),
" they began to exhibit various dances, which 175
" they called *mai*. The music consisted at first 534
" of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down,
" and amidst them were placed three instru-
" ments, which we called drums, though very
" unlike them. They are large cylindrical
" pieces of wood or trunks of trees, from three
" to four feet long, some twice as thick as an
" ordinary sized man, and some smaller, hol-
" lowed entirely out, but close at both ends,
" and open only by a chink about three inches
" broad, running almost the whole length of
" the drums: by which opening the rest of
" the wood is certainly hollowed, though the
" operation must be difficult. This instrument 175
" is called *naffa;* and, with the chink turned 648
" towards them, they sit and beat strongly upon 545
" it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood, 535
" about a foot long, and as thick as the wrist: 533
" by which means they produce a rude, though 534

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175 " loud and powerful sound. They vary the
648 " strength and rate of their beating at different
545 " parts of the dance, and also change their
535 " tones, by beating in the middle, or near the
533 " end of their drum.

[534] " The first dance* consisted of four ranks of
[293] " twenty-four men each, holding in their hands a little thin, light, wooden instrument, above two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle: with these, which are called *pagge*, they make a great many different motions, such as pointing them toward the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodies that way, from which they were shifted to the opposite side, in the same manner; then passing them quickly from one hand to the other, and twirling them about very dexterously; with a variety of other manœuvres, all which were accompanied by corresponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow, but quickened as the drums beat faster; and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answered by the chorus; but at the end of a short space they all joined, and finished with a shout.

" After ceasing about two or three minutes, they began as before, and continued with

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* This is the dance called *mée too buggi*.

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“ short intervals above a quarter of an hour, 175
“ when the rear rank dividing, shifted them- 648
“ selves very slowly round each end, and meet- 545
“ ing in the front, formed the first rank : the 535
“ whole number continuing to recite the sen- 533
“ tences as before. The other ranks did the
“ same successively, till that which at first was
“ the front became the rear ; and the evolution
“ continued in the same manner till the last
“ rank regained its first situation. They then
“ began a much quicker dance (though slow at
“ first), and sung for about ten minutes, when
“ the whole body divided into two parts, re-
“ treated a little, and then approached, forming
“ a sort of circular figure, which finished the
“ dance; the drums being removed, and the
“ chorus going off the field at the same time.

“ The second dance had only two drums,
“ with forty men for a chorus ; and the dancers,
“ or rather actors, consisted of two ranks, the
“ foremost having seventeen, and the other
“ fifteen persons. Feenow was at their head,
“ or in the middle of the front rank, which is
“ the principal place in these cases. They
“ danced and recited sentences, with some very
“ short intervals, for about half an hour, some-
“ times quickly, sometimes more slowly, but
“ with such a degree of exactness as if all the
“ motions were made by one man, which did

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175 “ them great credit. Near the close, the back
648 “ rank divided, came round, and took the place
545 “ of the front, which again resumed its situation,
535 “ as in the first dance; and when they finished,
533 “ the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

“ Three drums (which at least took two, and
“ sometimes three men to carry them), were
“ now brought in; and seventy men sat down,
[292] “ as a chorus to the third dance. This con-
“ sisted of two ranks, of sixteen persons each,
“ with young Toobou at their head, who was
“ richly ornamented with a sort of garment
[293] “ covered with red feathers. These danced,
“ sung, and twirled the *paggi* as before; but
“ in general much quicker, and performed so
“ well, that they had the constant applauses of
“ the spectators. A motion that met with par-
“ ticular approbation was one in which they
“ held the face aside as if ashamed, and the
“ *paggi* before it. The back rank closed before
“ the front one, and that again resumed its
“ place, as in the two former dances; but then
“ they began again, formed a triple row, divided,
“ retreated to each end of the area, and left
175 “ the greatest part of the ground clear. At
648 “ this instant two men entered very hastily, and
545 “ exercised the clubs which they use in battle.
535 “ They did this by first twirling them in
411 “ their hands, and making circular strokes be-

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"fore them with great force and quickness; 175
"but so skilfully managed, that, though standing 648
"quite close, they never interfered. They 545
"shifted their clubs from hand to hand with 535
"great dexterity; and, after continuing a little 411
"time, kneeled, and made different motions, "tossing the clubs up in the air, which they "caught as they fell; and then went off as "hastily as they entered. Their heads were [292]
"covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at "the crown (almost like a night-cap) with a "wreath of foliage round the forehead; but "they had only very small pieces of white "cloth tied about the waists; probably that "they might be cool, and free from every incumbrance "or weight*. A person with a "spear, dressed like the former, then came in, "and in the same hasty manner; looking about "eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw "it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the "crowd in the front, and put himself in a "threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike "with his spear at one of them, bending the

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* This exhibition with the clubs, as well as the following [177] one with a spear, are practices of Hamoa (the Navigator's Islands), at which the natives of that place are said to be very expert: they are occasionally adopted at Tonga by way of interludes, but they do not form an essential part of the above performance: the particular dress which these performers had on was the war dress of the Hamoa Islands.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

[May 18, 1777]

175 648 545 535 [411] "knee a little, and trembling, as it were, with "rage. He continued in this manner only a "few seconds, when he moved to the other "side, and having stood in the same posture "there, for the same short time, retreated from "the ground as fast as when he made his appearance. The dancers, who had divided "into two parties, kept repeating something "slowly; and now advanced, and joined again, "ending with universal applause. [533] [634] It should "seem that this dance was considered as one "of their capital performances, if we might "judge from some of the principal people being "engaged in it; for one of their drums was "beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho, "another by Feenow, and the third, which did "not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee "himself, at the entrance of his hut*.

175 648 545 "It is with regret I mention that we could "not understand what was spoken, while we "were able to see what was acted in these "amusements. This, doubtless, would have "afforded us much information as to the genius

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[555] [565] * It must here be noticed that it is a difficult matter to beat these drums properly, consequently it is considered a great accomplishment, and never practised by the lower orders: it must also be observed, that whenever among the dancers there are principal chiefs, as, no doubt, there were on the above occasion, the drums are always beaten by persons of the first consequence.

[May 18, 1777]

“ and customs of these people. It was observ- 175
“ able, that though the spectators always ap- 648
“ proved of the various motions when well 545
“ made, a great share of the pleasure they re-
“ ceived seemed to arise from the sentimental
“ part, or what the performers delivered in their
“ speeches *. However, the mere acting part,
“ independently of the sentences repeated, was
“ well worth our notice, both with respect to
“ the extensive plan in which it was executed,
“ and to the various motions, as well as the
“ exact unity with which they were performed.
“ Neither pencil nor pen can describe the nu-
“ merous actions and motions, the singularity
“ of which was not greater than was the ease
“ and gracefulness with which they were per-
“ formed.

“ In expectation of this evening show, the 175
“ circle of natives about our tent being pretty 648
“ large, they engaged in wrestling and boxing: 526

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* All the dances where the paddle is used are borrowed 535
from the natives of the islands of Nuha (Cocos island, and 293
Traitor's island), situated between Vavaoo and Hamoa (the 177
Navigator's islands.) The accompanying songs are in the
language of Hamoa, whence the people of Nuha have bor- 533
rowed them, and both dances and songs have been thus 191
adopted at Tonga; but as very few of the Tonga people understand the Hamoa language, it is presumed that the applause of the people on the above occasion was not excited by the sentiment, but by the music and general performance.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

[May 18, 1777]

175 648 526 [201] “ the first of which exercises they call *fangatooa*, and the second *foohoo*. When any of them chooses to wrestle, he gets up from one side of the ring, and crosses the ground in a sort of measured pace, clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound; that is reckoned the challenge. If no person comes out from the opposite side to engage him, he returns in the same manner, and sits down; but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground, to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appear, they come together with marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling, and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth which is fastened round the waist. They then lay hold of each other by this girdle, with a hand on each side, and he who succeeds in drawing his antagonist to him immediately tries to lift him upon his breast, and throw him upon his back, and if he be able to turn round with him two or three times in that position, before he throws him, his dexterity never fails of procuring plaudits from the spectators. If they be more equally matched, they close soon, and endeavour to throw each other by entwining their legs, or lifting each other from the ground; in which struggles they shew a pro-

[May 18, 1777]

" digious exertion of strength, every muscle, as 175
" it were, being ready to burst with straining. 648
" When one is thrown, he immediately quits 526
" the field: but the victor sits down for a few " seconds, then gets up, and goes to the side " he came from, who proclaim the victory " aloud, in a sentence delivered slowly, and in " a musical cadence. After sitting a short " space, he rises again and challenges, when " sometimes several antagonists make their appearance; but he has the privilege of choosing which of them he pleases, to wrestle " with; and has likewise the preference of " challenging again, if he should throw his adversary, until he himself be vanquished; and " then the opposite side sing the song of victory " in favour of their champion. It also often " happens, that five or six rise from each side, " and challenge together: in which case it is " common to see three or four couple engaged " on the field at once. But it is astonishing to " see what temper they preserve in this exercise: for we observed no instances of their " leaving the spot with the least displeasure in " their countenances. When they find that " they are so equally matched as not to be " likely to throw each other, they leave off by " mutual consent. And if the fall of one is " not fair, or if it does not appear very clearly

[May 18, 1777]

175 " who has had the advantage, both sides sing
648 the victory, and then they engage again; but
526 no person who has been vanquished can engage with his conqueror a second time *.

" The boxers advance sideways, changing the side at every pace, with one arm stretched fully out before, the other behind; and holding a piece of cord in one hand, which they wrap firmly about it when they find an antagonist, or else have done so before they enter. This I imagine they do to prevent a dislocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are directed chiefly to the head, but sometimes to the sides; and are dealt out with great activity. They shift sides, and box equally well with both hands. But one of their favourite and most dexterous blows is, to turn round on their heel just as they have struck their antagonist, and to give him another very smart one with the other hand, backward.

" The boxing matches seldom last long; and the parties either leave off together, or one acknowledges his being beat. But they never sing the song of victory in these cases, unless one strikes his adversary to the

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* Nor with any body else in *wrestling*, but he may box with any one: if he had been beaten in boxing, he could not on the same occasion box again: but he might wrestle.

[May 18, 1777]

" ground, which shews that, of the two, wrest- 175
" ling is their most approved diversion *. Not 648
" only boys engage in both the exercises, but 526
" frequently little girls box very obstinately for [857]
" a short time. In all which cases it doth not
" appear that they ever consider it as the
" smallest disgrace to be vanquished; and the
" person overcome sits down with as much in-
" difference, as if he had never entered the
" lists. Some of our people ventured to con-
" tend with them in both exercises, but were
" always worsted; except in a few instances,
" where it appeared that the fear they were in
" of offending us contributed more to the vic-
" tory than the superiority of the person they
" engaged."

Such is the account we read in Cook's Voy- 114
ages; and the accuracy with which every thing
is stated evinces a spirit of observation and fa-
cility of description deserving of the highest
credit. The last remark which he makes in re- 175
gard to the contention between the English 526
people and the natives is a tolerably just one. 609
The natives themselves mentioned the circum- 114

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* This inference is not correct: the circumstance above alluded to means merely to say, that when a man is knocked down, he may be considered as dead, for it certainly is in the power of the other to kill him if he pleases, and for this reason only he has a right to the song of victory.

175 stance to Mr. Mariner, stating, that they allowed
526 the Papalangies to get the victory sometimes,
[609] because they did not like to beat the poor fel-
[114] lows so much. There was probably, at the
same time, a little apprehension of offending
[576] their visitors; for it is certain, that when a man
[201] is engaged singly with a chief much superior to
him, he sometimes allows himself to be beaten, or rather yields out of respect to his opponent; and the sign by which he shews his disposition to do so is a sudden toss of the head on one side, upon which his antagonist immediately re-
526 tires to his seat. There is something admira-
576 ble in the perfect good humour and forbear-
643 ance of temper which is always manifested
on these occasions, sufficiently so to astonish natives of European countries: for on occasions when there is a general combat, (as related p. 207.) even Tooitonga sometimes gets miserably handled by one of the lowest fellows in the island; but nevertheless he retires from the games without the least inimical spirit, although perhaps with his eyes black, his mouth and nose dreadfully swelled, and, it may happen, with his arm broken; all done by a man over whom he has the power of life and death: for it must be observed, that when there is a general combat, no quarter is given on either side.

Fiehua. Desiring to turn up the earth [fie, to desire; hua, to turn up the earth]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Premises of the god Finautauiku; see Fanakava. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Fieilo. Inquisitiveness. Tract on Ovaka island (V).

Fiekaia. Hunger. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

Fifihaha. To braid and beat, applied to plaiting rope [fifi, to braid; haha, to beat]. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Fihaki. To pluck and plait fatai creepers [fi, to plait; haki, the act of plucking fatai creeps]. Tract near Muitoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Filiaki. To choose beforehand. Tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V)—Veikune, landlord.

Filiki. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Filimoimaka. To choose to escort a stone [fili, to choose; moi, to escort; maka, stone]. A large circular coral slab forming part of wall at Fonuamotu, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Filimomama. To choose for the world [fili, to choose; mo, for; mama, world]. Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.

Filofioha. Twisted appearance [filofilo, to twist, as thread; ha, appearance]. Tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord.

Finau Patches. Named after Finau Ulukalala. After the steamer "Taveuni" was [175] wrecked at Finau Patches, Finau came with the schooner "Banui" and salvaged the cargo. Reefs (V).

Fineeva. Woman walking about [fine, woman; eva, to walk about]. Tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Finefakauha. Woman exposed to the rain [fine, woman; fakauha, to expose to the rain]. A large stone on the tract Makafakianga, south of Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Finefekai. Ferocious woman [fine, woman; fekai, ferocious]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Site of Smith's ice cream parlor. So named by Wellington Ngu.

Finehika. Woman with straight hair [fine, woman; hika, straight, stiff on end (applied to the hair)]. Tract near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Fineifa. Lean woman [fine, woman; ifa, to contract or draw in the belly]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Fineitaloi. A woman who pretends to be angry [fine, woman; ita, angry; loi, lie]. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Finekahoamapa. Woman having on a garland of scented mapa fruit [fine, woman; kahoa, necklace; mapa, the name of a tree and its fruit]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.

Finekata. A laughing woman [fine, woman; kata, laugh]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord. Also lagoon near Makave, village on Vavau island (V).

Finelalau. A woman who pinches [fine, woman; lalau, to pinch]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Finelangatotoa. Woman in bloody pain of child-birth [fine, woman; langa, the pain of child-birth; totoa, bloody]. Islet (H).

Heifi. The Tahitian chestnut tree [he, the; ifi, Tahitian chestnut]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Heilala. Name of a tree. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Longoteme, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, Lavengatonga, Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Hekau. The handle [he, the; kau, handle]. Tract on Kotu island (H). Also tract near Houma, village on Vavau island (V).

Hekea. To slide, to slip. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H). Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Hekeaŋga. A sliding place [hekea, to slide, to slip; nga, place]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).

Heketa. To move on the posteriors and strike [heke, to move on the posteriors; ta, to strike]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). The seat of the early Tui Tonga. Perhaps connected with the eleventh Tui Tonga, Tuitatui, whose name means "king who strikes the knee," in reference [643] to his custom, from fear of assassination, of striking with a stick anyone who [175] came too close to him in the kava ring.

Hekutemotu. A proud and lazy person almost broken [heku, a proud and lazy person; te, almost; motu, broken]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Helanoa. Weary for nothing [hela, weary; noa, nothing]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Helangi. The sky [he, the; langi, sky]. Tract on Atata island (T)—Ata, landlord.

Helei. To ensnare. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Helemonga. To cut the throat [hele, to cut; monga, throat]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hemei. The breadfruit [he, the; mei, breadfruit]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.

Hemoheatu. The cohabiting of bonitos [he, the; mohe, to cohabit; atu, bonito]. Tract in Talasiu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hepu. The rear. Tract near Puke, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fohe, landlord.

Hesi. The si plant [he, the; si, a plant]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Heto. The sugar cane [he, the; to, sugar cane]. Tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V).

Hetou. The tou tree [he, the; tou, a tree]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Heukalae. To decoy gallinules [heu, to decoy; kalae, gallinule (Porphyrio vitiensis)]. Tract near Tokomololo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord. Also tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Heuli. To ward off and lash together [heu, to ward off; li, to lash together]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Heumolafo. To catch birds on the wing by casting the net [heu, to catch birds on the wing; mo, with; lafo, to cast the net]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hifofoou. A new descent [hifo, to descend; foou, new]. Tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Hifonga. The descending place. Tract on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.

538 [276] [594] [656] Kava parties were sometimes entertained by rival poets. Such competition evidently reached a high degree of development. It is said that competitions in reciting (*po-sipi*), night of reciting, were stopped by the Government in these latter days because of the feeling engendered. Sometimes poets recited prepared compositions, but at other times they improvised. The chief Tukuaho, a distinguished patron of the arts who died in the 538 latter part of the nineteenth century, is reported to have organized a contest 175 in poetry between a man from Vavau, a man from Nomuka, a man named Siliva, and a woman from Hihifo. Each recited what had been prepared, and then went on to improvise. The bards of Nomuka and Vavau came to a stop without finishing properly; Siliva and the woman both finished well, but Siliva was adjudged to have finished best and to have won.

538 A poet may recite (*laulau*) his own, or another's compositions or teach them to bands of singers or dancers. Skillful bards were valued companions of chiefs. Poets and storytellers sometimes spent the night with chiefs, to amuse them should they be wakeful. A composition to amuse a chief at night was called *tatoka* (literally, sleeping with). The "Weather coast of Selenga" (p. 106) is so called.

[121] The poems here presented have not been specially selected. They are probably representative, certainly when taken with those published by Gifford (21, 22). The prominence of the natural beauties of their homeland among the subjects chosen by the bards has been noted by other writers, and is at once apparent. Much of the poetry is topical. Mariner says, (28, vol. 2, p. 217) "One of these songs describes the principal events during Captain Cook's visit . . . . Another describes the visit of Admiral d'Entrecasteaux. Another the revolution of Tonga, and the famous battle that was there fought." So today notable events are chronicled by the bards. Gifford (23) mentions a poem in his possession describing the entrance of German war-vessels into Vavau Harbor at the time of the ratification of the treaty between Germany and Tonga. Songs composed to accompany dances on any important occasion contain numerous references to events and persons connected with the celebrations. During a visit to Niua Toputapu at a time when vigorous and successful measures were being taken to cope with the great enemy of the coconut, the rhinoceros beetle, which had lately made its way into that island, I found two songs in vogue describing the efforts made to deal with the pest, and celebrating the care and vigilance of the gentleman in charge, Mr. Michael Miller, Miki Mila in the poems. The hunting for beetles, grubs, and larvae, and the boiling of the grubs and larvae in a kerosene tin (*kapa kalasini*) syllables which, however prosaic their meaning, are not to be despised for their rhythm, [124] were all celebrated by the muse. A member of the party with which I visited the island was a very high chief, who stayed in the house next to

539 At the ways of the sailor man,
And the heart of him who works ships.
584 I thought, friend, for my part,
And cherished my brooding thought—
I am a mind that still penetrates,
And still am I apt to discern,
In keeping the word of Loau,
Preserved, it is said, in Mananga.
Whoever he be that is wise,
And that hath an attending mind,
Go early to Faleovalu,
Turn about in Halakakala,
Share provisions in Haa Maafu,
Stand by to help in Haa Ngata.
His fame goes about in Tupou,
The king of the men of the ocean.
Send report to Tongatabu,
Yea, to Tonga send the tale of him,
To Matamoana and Halaevalu,
To Halafatai and the shallows;
And the Sacred Reef makes murmurous plaint,
Whilst weeps the Anganangana,
When 'tis heard, friend, that it is I,
And when one in his talk makes mention,
That the quest in Nakau has failed,
The stone is left in Fungaana
Be not angered Alovalu,
Vaea and Luatangata,
If there be that in me which is evil,
And if bad be my explanation;
And let it be told to Pouvalu,
And told the assemblage of chiefs.
For I indeed went on a voyage,
Tutuila was the bourne of my seeing.
For I was bidden to go right to land,
For the boat could sail close to the wind,
That we come with sail spread to Kolongahau,
To the launching-place at the Lala.
A censure is that most foolish,
Foolish is that censure of thine;
I have left the boat and shall swim,
I have left the road and shall wade.
When it is spoken in Longoakau,
Or told in Alakihaafata,
Then is it a boat that reached land,
That is filled with fish in the ocean,
Come to land after catching bonito,
Come to land after breaking off tails.
A sturdy man fitted for sailing,
For a task that is fitting for manhood;
To the anchorage in Haa Loau,
And Tongoleleka still frequented.
There was a seer named Mau,
The King's attendant at sea,
And he told a thing unto me,
Yea, to its telling I hearkened,
That the drifting canoe has reached land.
The canoe, friend, is almost in sight,
Midst the unresting wave that is breaking,
Breaking and imperilling man.
There's a word that is brought from the mound,
If there be a flock of uneven number,
And set for it is the net,
It almost entered, but went aside
At the face of the mound, and escaped,
On Talauluvae has it gone.
I shall return from the house of the snarers,
'Tis a pigeon robust and far ranging;
Leave her, for so is her will,
And to me, too, is there something of doubt,
For 'tis a sport from the forest apportioned.

LAKEPAMOAFITU TO FATAFEHIHAAPAI

Lakepamoafitu expected to marry Fatafehihaapai, but learned that she had been promised to Vuna. This arrangement, so disappointing to the hopes of Lakepamoafitu, was made while he was absent in Samoa.

539 Fatafehihaapai is described as the Tui Tonga Fefine, and the genealogies
584 show that Pau, the Tui Tonga who met Captain Cook in 1777, had a
175 daughter so named. Fakanaanaa, the 33rd Tui Tonga (Pau was 35th) had
643 a grandson, Lakepamoafitu. If these are the two concerned, therefore, the
[55] poem would date from the end of the eighteenth century. The name Vuna occurs as that of several chiefs, including one who is alive today, and the fifth Tui Kanokupolu. This king would be too early to be contemporaneous

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

with Lakepamotofitu and Fatafehihaapai; but Mariner (28) mentions a 539
Vuna who was living during the time of his residence in Tonga, who prob- 584
ably is the chief concerned. [175]

Matangi e ta‘au lulunga,	Wind going round to the west[1] [643]
Matangi lulunga ‘ai taulolo;	West wind that blows in sharp gusts; [551]
Ke ne omi e ongo ki loto Mu‘a,	To the midst of Mua let it bring the report,
Kei eo mai ki heni e ongo,	The report is still wafted hither,
Ki he hala lalo ki Olo-mafua,	To the lower road in Olomafua,[2]
Ki Popua moe fanga Tuku-lolo,	To Popua and the strand Tukulolo,[3]
Pe mo‘oni e kolo kuo vua,	Be it true that 'tis a fortress surrendered,[4]
Pe mo‘oni kuo kapa ‘ae koio.	Be it true that the fortress was stormed.
Kuo ha ‘i Vava‘u e tupu‘a,	There has appeared in Vavau the marvel,[5]
He tupu‘a ne ha he liku loto,	The marvel that appeared at the inland cliff,[6]
Pea fasi ai e peau kula	And there the great wave has broken,
Fasi ai e peau pea ngoto.	The wave has broken and [I am] engulfed.
Ta koe tau-fatunga-motu‘a,	Verily 'tis the topmost roof-timber,[7]
Ta koe tau ka ‘ikai ongo,	Verily it is war that is not noised
He ongo fo‘ou ki Utu-lifuka,	In the new report to Utulifuka,[8]
Ongo kovi ne omi ki Ava-tongo.	The ill report brought to Avatongo.
Kuo mele e kata tuingofua,	The mirth that believes easily is spoiled,[9]
Kuo mele‘ene eva ‘i Matoto.	Her walk in Matoto is spoiled.[10]
Kae fefe uo motu‘a?	What then of the early friendship?
Koe sia ko Kafoa e tofo;	The mound Kafoa is unfitting;[11]
Hikuongo mei Vao-faka-lava,	An echo from Vaofakalava,[12]
Kuo hikuongo mei Maninita.	The echo from Maninita.
Pe mo‘oni kuo vaia Ovaka?	Is it true that Ovaka appears swimming in ocean?[13]
Ta kuo tu‘u ‘a Mata-hina;	Verily Matahina is in sight;
Loto tahi kuo ‘alo tafa‘anga;	In the midst of the sea the canoe is paddled;
Kuo hiki ki Vava‘u ‘a Lofia.	Lofia is removed to Vavau.[14]
Ko ‘amautolu eni siufanga,	Ours is this fishing excursion,[15]
Ko emautolu eni mahua.	Ours is its spilling out.
Kuo tu‘u tokua e Vao-haka,	Vaohaka forsooth is in sight,
Ta kuo tu‘u Mata-hina,	Yea, in sight is Matakiniua,
Pea angatoka e otu Talava,	And calm is the group Talava,[16]
Pea ‘oku angatoka ‘a Futuna;	And calm is Futuna;
Hei‘ilo Kia mo Mata-uta,	Uncertain are Kia and Matauta,
Hei‘ilo Tutuila mo Manuka—	Uncertain Tutuila and Manuka—
‘Oka tuha moe liku Fakangala,	If 'tis fitting the coast of Remembrance,[17]
‘Oka tuheina Paepae-ua.	If 'tis fitting Paepaeua.[18]
‘Ofa ‘i he u‘ui ‘o Leva-fanga,	Pity for the shell fish[19] of Levafanga,
Tuamafa ‘o loto Popua‘uta;	The pigeon of the landside of Popua;
Ne lupe silia mei Foe-ata,	'Twas a pigeon cast away from Foeata,[20]
Ne lupe silia ‘i Foe-lifuka.	'Twas a pigeon cast away in Foelifuka.
Ne fakamaiva he ‘ikai ko ho nafá,	'Twas unfitting for it was not thy duty,
Fakaalele he ‘ikai ko ho tuha.	'Twas rash for it beseemed thee not.[21]
Pe te mo tapiha ha luo ha ana,	Shall ye rejoice in a hole in a cave,[22]
Pe te mo tapiha? Kau tukua.	Shall ye rejoice? But I am left.

crown, or a long lock at either side of her head, stiffened with a dressing of lime. She would also have a train of girl attendants, her *lahi*. She was taken to be the bride of Mulikihaamea, who gave her to Tangataiioa, the composer of this poem in honor of his patron and in praise of love. 539 584

Two copies of the text were available, one of which contained only the first two stanzas. Numbering at the side of the third stanza in the copy containing it indicates some uncertainty as to the correct order of the lines. The portion found in only one copy commences at the nineteenth line. [127]

'Ofa 'i he anga e,	How I love her way,
'Ofa 'i he anga kuo makehe,	Love her way that is her's alone,
Tuamafa u'ui kei vale;	Little green pigeon still unlearned;
He ta heua tu'ula ta'ahine,	A maiden's the pigeon we're seeking,
Manoa tu'ona ke hele.	Tug at the cord to entrap her.
Lata kita he lupe 'ata-lele.	My joy is the pigeon who flees as the shadow.
He a e he.	*He a e he.*
Kula pe ha lei pe fetu'u te,	Bead or ivory or floating star,[1]
Si-lopa pe ha fekite-tele.	Girdle or scented wreath.
He manu e to'a koe fefine,	A venturesome bird is woman,[2]
Situ'a peau 'i-'ate;	I turned away and was grieved;
Ne 'ikai launoa aipe,	Not for aye is her careless chatter,
'I he me'a tofo pe ne fefe.	No matter what strange thing befall.
Fiu fili 'ae fanga-hahake	The eastern strand is weary of wonder
'I hono tangata pe kuo 'i fe.	About its man, where he may be.
Tala-ange kuo lata he lave,	Tell them my joy is in dalliance,[3]
He taofi 'e he hala siale	The road of the *siale* has kept me;
Ke kahoa he tui ve'eve'e,	On my neck the string of sweet blossoms,
Tuitu'u fakava'e siale.	My cincture entwined with *siale*.
Ka fehu'i mai Inu-mo-me'a,	If Inumomea ask about me,[4]
Tala-ange ko Mulikiha'ame'a	Tell him Mulikihaamea[5]
Kuo hao hono toulekeleka,	Is still most handsome of men,
Moe angalelei kuo 'uea	And his kindliness has been moved
Ene toki mata-ngalo 'a Vaea.	To be forgetful of Vaea.
Tala ki he Hau ke nau ekea,	Tell the King that they seek me,[6]
Ke mua-vaka aki ki Lakepa,	Set the course by Lakepa,[7]
Ma'u-kuo-ma'a mo Tapukitea,	Maukuomaa and Tapukitea,[8]
Alo-tolu moe Kau-kupenga,	Alotolu and Kaukupenga,
Tapua-tamata mo hingano-leka,	Tapuatamata and *hinganoleka*,[9]
Unuoi-siale moe tetefa,	*Unuoisiale* and *tetefa*,
Pea omi moe Ao-'o-Uvea	And bring Aoouvea
Ma'ane teunga ki ha po-he'a.	To adorn her for a night of dancing.
'Ofa 'i he anga e.	How I love her way.

POEM OF TEUKAVA

(Also called the Recitation about Tukuaho)

Teukava, a chief of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is mentioned by Mariner (28, vol, 1, p. 279-280), who arrived in Tonga in 1806, and became closely associated with Finau Ulukalala, whom he accompanied and assisted in his wars.^A These wars had commenced several years before Mariner's arrival. 114 669 634 [175]

A [See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst]

114 Although he was at some pains to discover what had preceded his own
669 coming, and records with considerable detail and picturesqueness the events
of which he was himself an eye-witness—or rather Martin does from the
634 material he obtained from Mariner—yet he presents the whole matter in
wrong perspective. This he does through regarding Finau as the king, and
all who fought against him as opposing lawful authority. As a matter of
fact Finau is to be regarded as the rebel, to whose ambition much of the
643 misery of the time is due. In most of the accounts the prestige of the Tui
Tonga, which traditionally should have been paramount, falls into the background.
The power of the Sacred King, indeed, was hastening to its fall.
Bishop Blanc (4, Chap. VII) furnishes a corrective from the side of the
Tui Tonga.

Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu, died in 1797, leaving a daughter, Tupou
175 Moheofo, and a son Tukuaho, both claimants to their father's position. (In
643 12, p. 182, I have misplaced Tupou Moheofo.) Tukuaho was at the time
on the island of Eua, and the lady made good use of her rival's absence
from the seat of government, and had herself installed as Tui Kanokupolu.
Tukuaho, coming from Eua, ejected her, and became king himself.

The Tui Kanokupolu is head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of Ngata).
[613] Finau, or Ulukalala, is head of the Haa Ngata Tupu, a junior branch of
[634] the same tribe. Finau espoused the cause of Tupou Moheofo, but Tukuaho
retained his kingship. Tukuaho's rule was harsh and tyrannical, and in
175 1799 he was assassinated by Tupou Niua, with the connivance of Finau,
669 and civil war blazed forth. Vason was an eye-witness of the fighting of
the next few months, and his account furnishes an excellent framework into
[114] which to fit native traditions. The records of Vason and of the London
Missionary Society's missionaries, who came to Tonga on the ship *Duff*,
have been followed by Miss Farmer (19).

175 Tongan tradition records two great battles, both of which are recounted
by Vason (37, pp. 158-191). The first of these, the battle of the Toafa
669 (Sea Flats) was fought in 1799. Hihifo, led by the chiefs of the Haangata,
726 Ata, Vahai, Ahomee and Vaea, strove to avenge their fallen head, Tukuaho.
634 In the earlier stages of the fighting they gained some successes against Finau
and his party. Hahake, the eastern district of Tongatabu, mainly supported
Finau, and very soon reinforcements were brought from Haapai and Vavau.
Finau's own chief seat of authority was Vavau. In these early successes
of the Hihifo party, Mulikihaamea, who, Vason relates, contrary to the
[643] popular expectation joined Finau, was killed. I have assumed, though with
diffidence, that this Mulikihaamea is the Tui Kanokupolu mentioned in the
lists of these kings. If that be so, he seems not to have been formally installed,
and his making common cause with Finau would perhaps be in an

effort to make effective a claim not too well grounded in right. He was 175
slain within a few weeks of the outbreak of hostlities. 669

In the battle of Toafa, Finau won a decisive victory over the forces 726
of Hihifo. The chiefs Ata, Vahai, Vaea were not only defeated, but
wounded also. Tradition records their shame. It is said that they lay 634
wounded together, and talked about the war. "I've got a new name," said 175
Ata. 669

"What is it?" inquired his partners in distress. "Tofua i Pangai" (All 727
in Pangai have fallen) he replied. 553

Vahai then said that he, too, had a new name, Langoia i Pangai (Rejected, neglected, in Pangai); and Vaea completed the mournful trio by saying that his name was Kuea i Pangai (Shamed in Pangai).

Although none of the European chroniclers mentioned it, native tradi- 175
tion relates that Finau marked his victory by setting up a white pig as king 669
in Tongatabu, appointing one of his partisans, Veahahake, as the pig's 727
representative in the actual business of government.

But Finau won no permanent success in Tongatabu. It was not long 669
before Vahai led an army through the island from west to east, sweeping 726
the districts that had supported Finau, though Finau was evidently not present himself. A great heap of slain on the eastern extremity of Tongatabu was Vahai's trophy to this victory. It is said that he bade his men continue the massacre till the heap of bodies was so high that Eua could be seen from its summit (37, p. 187). This battle is called the Tau Fakalelemoa (Battle of chasing fowls) on account of the helpless flight of the defeated, or the Tau Fakalangovaka (Battle avenging defeat) as it was held to avenge the defeat of Toafa.

In this battle Vahai employed a stratagem to enable his men to reach their enemy's territory without their hostile intent being known. He pretended that he was going on a visit with gifts to his relative Nuku, a chief of Hahake, whom he said was sick. The warriors wrapped their arms up so that they appeared to be bundles of mats and cloth. When they came to a suitable place, at Haatouli, the arms were uncovered and distributed. At Haatouli a brave resistance was made by a man who had once been a great warrior, but who was now blind. He stood at the roadside with his daughter, who, equally courageous with her father, acted as eyes for him. As the enemy approached she told him when to strike. His wrath seems especially to have been directed against Ahomee, and as that chief came up, and the daughter told him who it was, he hurled his spear, at the same time shouting a punning insult on his name, calling him Ahoafi (Aho-fire) (it is insulting to call a man's eyes fire). Another woman signalized herself on this bloody day, a daughter of Ahomee, who wrapped cloth about her body and took part with the courage of a man, and was

7: McKern

OU9 Tonga OU9

174
175

[For further information on historical reconstruction and history, see Category 172.]

172 horizontal, its original position probably was vertical. Tradition defines this slab as
345 the back rest of the king when seated upon the mound.

8. Siumafuauta, east of Maofanga, Tongatabu, 250 feet from low tide
172 mark near the point of land called Tukutonga. It is described by Cook
345 (4, vol. 1, p. 289) in the following words:

> 175 At this place is a work of art, which shows, that these people are capable of some design, and perseverance, when they mean to accomplish anything. This work begins on one side, as a narrow causeway, which, becoming gradually broader, rises, with a gentle ascent, to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad, and the whole length seventy-four paces. Joined to this is a sort of circus, whose diameter is thirty paces, and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway that joins it, with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side, another causeway of the same sort descends; but this is not above forty paces long, and is partly in ruin. The whole is built with large coral stones, with earth on the surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs; and, from its decaying in several places, seems to be of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly, it seems to be of none now; and all that we could learn of it from the natives was, that it belonged to Poulaho, and is called Etchee.

172 Siumafuauta stands on level ground, practically in a mangrove swamp
345 called Tafaloto, at a place where the swamp merges with the lagoon.

The structure is a circular, flat-topped mound 18 feet high and 100 feet in diameter at the top. The walls are of rough though smoothly piled pieces of coral stone, and
172 stand at an angle of about 80° from the horizontal. From the southwest an inclined road 34 feet wide and 140 feet long leads to the top of the *esi*. A similar inclined
345 approach ascends from the east. From the top of the mound the road extends 137 feet
491 with a width of 27 feet, then turns northward for 20 feet with a width of 12 feet (Pl. II, *C*). Both approaches have stone faced sides exactly like those of the mound proper, and are paved with coral gravel. Near the center of the flat top is a circular,
172 flat-bottomed pit 22 feet in diameter and 0.9 foot in depth, walled on the sides with
345 vertical slabs of crudely dressed stone. Individual stones in this ring do not exceed 3 feet in length and are from 0.4 foot to 0.7 foot in thickness.

Except in type of elevation, Siumafuauta resembles Kafoa and, like Kafoa, is the center of controversy as to its original intent and use. Some
[491] native residents refer to it as an *esi;* others, as a pigeon mound. Those explaining it as a pigeon mound cite as evidence the central pit and the presence of undisputed pigeon mounds in the immediate neighborhood which seem formerly to have been connected to Siumafuauta by roads paved with coral gravel.

173 On the other hand, an old tale has it that the Tui Tonga Pau, one of the later kings of the ancient dynasty, came to dwell at the point called Tuku-
172 tonga in order to superintend the building of a proposed causeway crossing
345 the lagoon to Mua, the traditional capital of the Tui Tonga. His sister,
[342] the Tui Tonga Fefine, whose name was Siumafuauta, came with him. The king then built the large mound as a foundation of a house for his sister

who lived there until Pau died and the causeway project was abandoned. 173
This narrative does not account for the central pit of the mound (Tongan 172
houses did not have pits within them), nor does it explain why the Tui 345
Tonga Fefine should have had such a grand foundation for her house at 342
this place of temporary dwelling, while neither she nor any other Tongan
was accustomed to large elevated platforms at their places of permanent
residence. There is no evidence on the Tukutonga side of the lagoon of 173
the causeway said to have been begun by Pau and if there is any founda- 172
tion of truth to the story it seems more probable that a mound, already in
existence, was selected as a suitable site for the house of the Tui Tonga 345
Fefine on account of the low, wet ground. But this does not explain the
purpose for which the mound was originally built. Cook says definitely [175]
that it was called an "etchee" *(esi)* belonging to the Tui Tonga of his time, [643]
Poulaho, and that it was of "no modern date," which information sheds
no light upon the builder or the original use of the structure. It is here
classed with *esi* because of its remarkable similarity to Kafoa. It may be
that some mounds, originally built as pigeon mounds, were converted through
use into *esi*.

PIGEON MOUNDS

CLASSIFICATION

Pigeon mounds or *siaheulupe* (*sia*, mound; *heu*, pigeon snare; *lupe*, 172
wild pigeon), are natural structures, artificial structures, or artificial struc- 345
tures situated upon natural risings exclusively employed by chiefs and their 223
retainers as places to which wild pigeons could easily be decoyed and 565
snared.

Men of less than chiefly rank often snared pigeons for food using the *heu*, a large, two poled net which did not necessarily involve the use of any sort of mound. But pigeon snaring as participated in by chieftains was a highly organized sport for which the mound was deemed essential. As a matter of fact, the practical purpose of the mound is not altogether clear, unless it furnished the wielders of the *heu* net an increased elevation, and so increased their reach.

In describing the method of snaring pigeons, informants speak of two 172
types of mounds. Type I, present in all provinces where pigeon mounds 345
were located, possessed two essential features: (a) a circular platform of 223
stone, or of earth, supported by stone retaining walls, rising several feet 128
above the surrounding ground; (b) a centrally located pit averaging 20
feet in diameter, as deep as the artificial mound was high, and laterally
lined with perpendicular retaining walls of stone.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 764 The mounds vary considerably in size. One called Huluipaongo (*hulu*, dry leaves; *paongo*, a vine producing the *hulu* leaf, now growing plentifully about the mound), is situated near the southwest point of the island of Lifuka, Haapai. It is 15 feet high, with a diameter of 40 feet at the top and 110 feet at the base. [175] This mound contains the tomb of the Matauvave family, and as the first Matauvave was appointed governor of Haapai by the Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafekai at a date approximating 1540, was probably built in the sixteenth century.

An ancient *faitoka*, situated at a place called Houmakalae near the town of Otea, Kapa, Vavau, is 16 feet in height and 100 feet in base diameter. It is called Avatongo (*ava*, crevice; *tongo*, mangrove shrub), but no accurate information was found regarding its history.

The average *faitoka*, however, is smaller and is well represented by that called Kelekelemeifisi (*kelekele*, earth; *mei*, from; *fisi*, Fiji), situated on the southern outskirts of the town of Maofanga, Tongatabu. It has a maximum height of 8 feet and a base diameter of 75 feet. [173] It is the burial place of Lavakahaatuukau, an important chieftain who moved to Maofanga from Mua and there built this *faitoka*, according to tradition, exclusively from earth brought from Fiji.

[217] The Tongans maintain an admirable respect for their ancient dead, a respect which is strengthened by well kept genealogical records, by means of which present day inhabitants trace their descent from those buried in many of the ancient tombs. [128] Archaeological excavation of *faitoka* is prohibited and a thorough study of stone vaults (*fonualoto*) is therefore impossible. The one vault available for observation, though not in a *faitoka*, probably closely resembles it in every particular (p. 50).

172 764 127 I am indebted to Mr. Guttenbeil of Niafu, Vavau, for a description, based on first hand observation, of a *faitoka* vault. Mr. Guttenbeil witnessed the burial of a boy related to Maatu in the vault of the ancient Maatu *faitoka* on the island of Niuatoputapu. According to his account, confirmed by Maatu and other qualified informants, the vault had not been used for several generations and its exact whereabouts in the more recent burial ground, which had come to practically cover the *faitoka*, was known only by one old woman. 172 764 She indicated the place to dig. The workmen dug through many more modern graves, placing the exhumed bones carefully to one side. Finally they came to the flat stone lid of the vault, which was 15 feet long and 10 feet wide. It was found to be so heavy that all attempts to remove it failed. Accordingly, one end was cut off to afford an opening. The narrator with others entered the vault. It had four perpendicular slab walls and a horizontally placed slab for floor. The stones were smoothly dressed. A skeleton lay prone, face up, in the center of the vault floor. This they reckoned to be the remains of the Maatu who built the tomb. Around the

central figure on every side were numerous skeletal remains so disposed as 172
to imply that the individuals represented had been placed sitting about the 764
walls, facing the center. These were reckoned to have comprised the "companions," those who were elected to accompany the dead chieftain, as servants, to the world of the dead. There was about 1 foot of fine, dark colored dust covering the floor, the probable remains of material goods, such as fine mats and tapas, buried with the dead out of respect to his wealth and station.

Mariner (16, vol. 1, p. 144) gives the measurements of a vault observed 127
in Haapai as 8 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet deep. 172

764

Langis

DISTRIBUTION AND GENERAL FEATURES

Native traditions and records name 45 langis, 37 are on Tongatabu, 6 in
the Haapai group and but 2 in Vavau. Of the langis on Tongatabu, 28 are 172
in or near the town of Mua, the modern survival of Lapaha, the ancient 764
capital of the Tui Tonga dynasty.

All the 45 langis referred to by combined sources of information were [127]
actually examined, although specific identification of some is doubtful, and [128]
for a few of them was not attempted.

In structural type, langis do not adhere to a uniform technique warranting group classification. Some langis are not to be distinguished, structurally, from *faitoka*; others are composed of from one to five rectangular platforms, each retained by perpendicular stone walls. Where a plurality of platforms occurs, the smaller are mounted upon the larger in regular succession, according to corresponding differences in lateral dimensions, to form stepped pyramidal structures. Many of these are of imposing size. One or more stone vaults, entered from the flat top of the structure, are present in most langis, but there are exceptions to this rule (pp. 55, 114).

The one attribute which all langis share, the one factor which serves to 172
group them, is use; they are invariably the tombs of important members of 764
the Tui Tonga "family," which includes not only the immediate family of the
reigning king but also the family of the Tamaha, of the Tui Tonga Fefine 644
and of certain closely related chiefly families such as that of the Tui Haatakalaua. However, in langi burials there was no confusion or uncertainty as to rank.

All stones in the retaining walls and also in vaults, judging from reports 172
and from the single vault examined, are rectangularly dressed and fashioned 764
of coral "sandstone" or reef limestone. Of the two materials, "sandstone" by far predominates.

Both Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 312-314) and Forster (9, vol. 1, pp. 451-452) [175]
observed and to a certain extent described some of the langis at Mua, Tonga- [114]

172 tabu, although they mistook these structures for variations of the *faitoka*
175 which they had seen elsewhere. Both describe the *faletolia* as intact and
764 apparently kept in good condition on the langi tops, and speak of wooden
[114] images or representations of men which were seen on one of the langis.
D'Urville (5, vol. 4, pp. 279-280) also mentions something of the kind. Cook describes the images in the following words:

> One of the houses, situated over a grave mound on a langi, contrary to what we had seen before, was open on one side; and within it were two rude, wooden busts of men; one near the entrance, and the other farther in. On enquiring of the natives, who had followed us to the ground, but durst not enter here, what these images were intended for? they made us as sensible as we could wish, that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there, and not the representations of any deity. Such monuments, it should seem, are seldom raised; for these had, probably, been erected several years ago. We were told that the dead had been buried in each of these houses; . . .

If the example mentioned by Cook is not unique, this practice of erecting wooden or other effigies over the langi or *faitoka* was at least a most unusual one.

172 To ascertain to what degree, if any, the langis are oriented with reference
764 to any recognized standard, the trends of the walls of thirty rectangular
langis were recorded. According to compass measurements, the direction of
[126] the northwest walls and that of the approximately parallel southeast walls
vary from N. 9° E. to N. 40° E. One wall of Otalafava trends N. 74° E. The trend of the northeast and the southwest is likewise highly variable—N. 50° W. to N. 82° W. Thus the variability exceeds 30° out of a possible 45°. Furthermore, little attention seems to have been given to corners; in the 30 langis measured, the corner angle varies from 82° to 99°. These figures make it obvious that the alignment of the langis is out of accord with any standard system of orientation.

There is no possibility of doubt as to the origin and purpose of *faitoka* and langis. They are the burial places of Tongan chieftains who governed the ancestors of the present native inhabitants from a remote prehistoric period into historic times. Some of the *faitoka* are still in use. The workmanship envolved is not such as to suggest any foreign or lost art, but rather, logically conforms to the primitive methods and tools which the Tongans are known to have had, and generally harmonizes with the state of primitive Tongan culture.

STRUCTURAL TYPES

172
764 To simplify presentation, it seems advisable to treat the various langis as
128 constituting six distinct structural types (fig. 17). Although there are many

The stones in the walls are 4.5 to 6 feet in length. Ascending to the top of the main platform from a central point on the western side is an inclined approach consisting of two inclined parallel retaining walls 6 feet apart made of upright slabs which slant upwards from the ground level to within 0.7 foot of the top of the platform which they meet at right angles. These walls are 0.8 foot thick, and the interval between them is filled with earth and rubble, and paved with large, flat, roughly rectangular stone slabs. Another approach on the eastern side of the main platform consists of a single squared slab of stone laid flat and adjoining the wall of the langi. In thickness the slab varies from 0.8 foot at the wall to 0.4 foot at its outermost edge, thus giving the slab a gentle upward slope. All stones comprising the retaining wall are very smoothly dressed and fitted together. The corners are formed by overlapping; the eastern and western cornerstones overlapping the opposing northern and southern stones. On the eastern side of the main platform the cornerstones of the northern and southern walls are shallowly mortised into the respective opposing cornerstones of the east wall. Tungi, the grandfather of Prince Tungi, consort to the present queen of Tonga, is buried in this langi, which according to all testimony was built at a recent historical date.

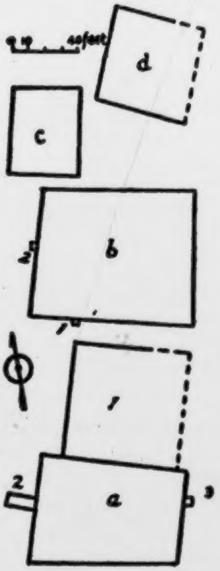

FIGURE 38.—Plan of Loamanu group of langis at Mua, Tongatabu: *a*, Falepulemaalo, length southern side 85.5 feet, western side 60 feet, height 2.4 feet—1, adjoining platform 64.5 feet long, 56 feet wide, 2.4 feet high; 2, roadway 16 feet long—; 3, stone slab 4.5 feet long, 4 feet wide; *b*, Loamanu, length southern side 92.5 feet, length western side 75 feet, average height 2 feet—; 1, stone step 4 feet long, 3 feet wide, 0.6 to 0.7 foot thick; 2, fragments of stone—; *c*, Faletuipapai, length eastern side 51 feet, length southern side 39.5 feet, height 0.7 to 0.8 foot; *d*, Loamanu IV, length of western wall 55 feet, height 2 feet.

DISCUSSION OF STONE STRUCTURES

ORIGIN OF STRUCTURES

There is no reasonable doubt that the dressed stone structures of Tonga, 172 the stone-walled *esi* and langis and the trilithon, are the products of the present inhabiting race. There is not the slightest evidence warranting the assignment of an age to any of these structures which would be incompatable with such a conclusion. The technique of stone dressing is quite within the limits of Tongan talent and equipment. The necessary methods of quarrying, transportation and erection harmonize perfectly with the state of primitive Tongan culture. The necessary organization of man-power required in the undertaking of such huge constructive projects was the logical result of centralized power vested in the single head of political and social Tonga, the Tui Tonga. Local tradition reflects not the slightest doubt as to Tongan 172 origin. Native accounts of the building and use of these structures have the practical and accurate sound of historical records; most of them are sur- 173 prisingly free from even the most obscure mythological associations. The mythical accounts are easily separated from historical accounts and are patently free from historical purpose. Some of these structures were actually 172 built in historic times under the observation of reliable European witnesses. 175 Many of them are still used from time to time in their traditional capacity.

This impressive ethnological evidence justifies the treatment of these inter- 172 esting monuments as the work of the immediate ancestors of the present population of the archipelago.

RELATIVE AGE OF LANGIS 127

During the search for information regarding specific langis, a list of named langis on Tongatabu, written in Tongan, was placed at my disposal. In it are a few historical notes. The true source of this material is rather doubtful. It was first seen in a notebook in the possession of Uhatafe, an old man of 127 Mua, Tongatabu, who is directly descended from a line of high matapules 217 formerly in the service of the Tui Tonga. Uhatafe stated that he had written the notes when young, having gotten the information from his father, who had in turn received it from his father, and so on. Identically the same 127 list was later found in a magazine printed in Tongan by the Catholic mission at Mua. Whether or not this printed version had been copied from Uhatafe's book could not be determined. The following is a translation of the manu- 764 script: 173

> The book of succession of the different langis, and information concerning those 172 who made them; their names are also given.
>
> The different langis are known, but as to who made each and who is buried there, some are [known] and others not.

172 764 6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.

7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hoouma, island of Eua.

172 764 173 According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hoouma are the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place. Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffocation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

172 361 The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about 5½ miles southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan government. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

172 124 Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was 172 [127] [126] one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the considerable mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing remains of ancient structures.

172 175 361 [643] Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting description of Lapaha:

> [342] [351] The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person [363] [351] has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

found to be much more plentiful in lower strata where the European elements 172
were lacking. The occurrence of pottery at various, scattered sites indicates
a general rather than a peculiarly local use. The ware may be described, 323
briefly, as rude, indifferently made, and serviceable rather than ornamental.

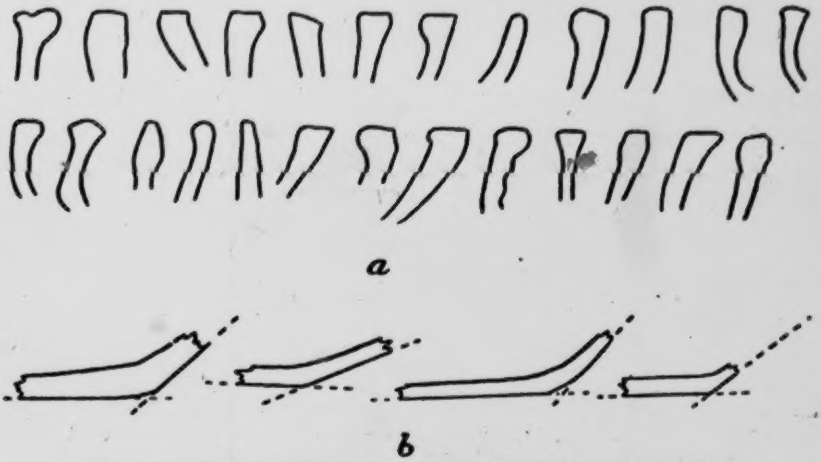

FIGURE 49.—Sketches of Tongan potsherds: *a*, rim profiles; *b*, base angles.

Though ethnologists have generally disregarded the presence of pottery 172
in any part of Polynesia, there are several published references to the prim- 323
itive use of pottery in Tonga. Cook (3, vol. 2, p. 21) says: "They [natives 175
of Nomuka] have some of the same sort of earthen pots we saw at Amster- [171]
dam [Tongatabu]; and I am of opinion they are of their own manufacture, [127]
or that of some neighboring isle." Forster (9. vol. 1, p. 471) saw pottery
on Eua, of which he says:

"We likewise bought some small earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives themselves." D'Urville (5, vol. 4, p. 281) finishes a paragraph on Tongan cooking methods with: ". . . enfin quelquefois ils les font bouillir dans les vases en terre qu'ils tirent des isles Viti."

Dillon (6, vol. 2, p. 81) contributes the following to the historical evi- [171]
dence: "They perform the process of boiling in earthen pots of the manu-
facture of the Feejee Islands. . . ."

The accounts, few as they are, are conflicting. Cook and Forster thought 172
the pottery of local manufacture. D'Urville and Dillon positively state that 323
127
114

501 [171] inserted stanchions, but the cord brace is omitted. Such evidence indicates that the *tafa'anga* was originally identical with the Samoan *va'a alo* and that the attachment was of the inserted stanchion type; it suggests that the attachment has been modified into the existing U type at a comparatively recent date.

175 501 It was probably a *tafa'anga* which Tasman, in 1643, saw put off from the land with three men in it. He describes it (1898, p. 26) as a small prow "very narrow, covered in to a good distance in front and abaft". Another canoe (1898, p. 27), seen later, had "the outriggers trimmed with shells and conchs", from which embellishments Tasman judged it to belong to the king or chief of the country. In the same drawing in which a double canoe under sail is the central figure, Tasman gives the figure of a paddling outrigger which is unmistakably a *tafa'anga*; all the features, down to the backwardly inclined bonito rod in position behind the steersman, identify it with certainty. Two booms, the correct number, project from the port side; the attachment of each is by two pairs of stanchions and not by U withies (fig. 190). The only other marked divergences from the existing design, allowing for the crudity of the drawing, are the absence of an accessory pseudo-boom and of the row of knobs down the center of the end deckings. It is worthy of note that Cook also does not show a pseudo-boom in his plan of the same kind of craft figured in his scaled drawings (1777, Atlas, pl. 16), and as some of the canoes met with during his visits were without egg-cowry decoration Tasman's figure may be correct in this omission. The remarkable accuracy of Tasman's details, so far as they are to be seen, goes far to inspire confidence in the artist's delineation of the larger Tongan vessel, the *tongiaki* (double canoe).

Cook had great praise for the Tongan canoe builders. Of his first visit in 1773 he writes (1777, vol. 1, p. 125):

> Nothing can be a more demonstrative evidence of their ingenuity than the construction and make of their canoes, which, in point of neatness and workmanship, exceed everything of this kind we saw in this sea. They are built of several pieces sewed together with bandage, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to see the joints. All the fastenings are on the inside, and pass through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the several boards which compose the vessel, for that purpose. They are of two kinds, viz., double and single . . . The single ones [*tafa'anga*] are from 20 to 30 feet long and about 20 or 22 inches broad in the middle; the stern terminates in a point and the head something like the point of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, for about one third of the whole length, and open in the middle. In some the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white shells, stuck on little pegs wrought out of the same piece which composes it. These single canoes have all outriggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles, the blades of which are short, and broadest in the middle.

Cook's figures show the float attachment to be of the stanchion type; no cord brace is present, neither is there a pseudo-boom.

Forster suggests that the islanders took the bonito and albacore as their model in designing the hulls of their canoes, and that the row of pegs along the center of the deckings represents the finlets along the tail of these fishes (1777, vol. 1, p. 461).

A larger *tafa'anga*, the equivalent of the Samoan dolphin canoe, also existed, but the sole record of it is the figure in an aquatint by Webber, Cook's artist on his third voyage. The outrigger canoe in the foreground (fig. 193) has a hull larger but otherwise similar to that of a *tafa'anga* and with a bonito rest conspicuous on the fore part of the after decking. The larger size of the canoe has entailed several notable additions to the *tafa'anga* design; the number of booms is increased to four, a balance spar is added, and mast and sail are carried. The

The
booms are attached to the float in the normal way by paired stanchions but there 501
are indications in addition of the use of bracing cords, as lines are shown passing 175
around the float at the places where the stanchions are inserted. Over the outboard 284
region of the four booms is lashed a rude fore and aft staging of planks. From the starboard side a balance spar giving purchase to a shroud projects far outboard, its inner end lashed upon or to the side of the second boom.

Unlike the ordinary *tafa'anga,* this large vessel, which has a crew of four, is 501
fitted for sailing. A mast, short and vertical, is stepped apparently upon or just forward of the first boom. The precise form of the sail can not be determined as it is partially furled by being loosely tied up to the mast by a rope passed around it, midway up; from the masthead run a fore stay to the head of the canoe, a side stay or shroud to the outer end of the balance spar, and another, on the opposite side, to the outer end of the second boom, also a back stay to the stern.

[175]

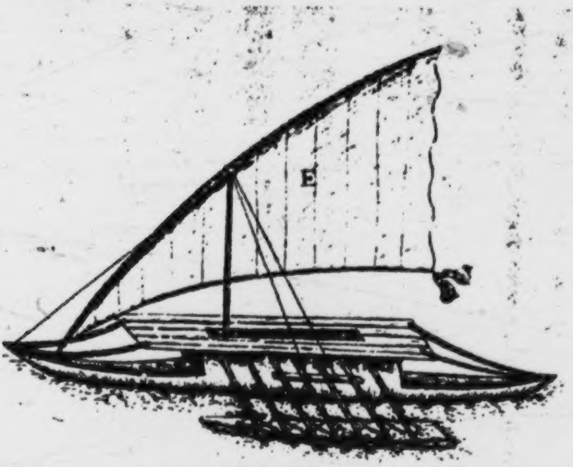

FIGURE 187.—Multiboom canoe seen at Namuka, Tonga, in 1643 (from Tasman, 1898).

A link between the *tafa'anga* as it is known today and the four-boom design drawn by Webber is that figured by Paris (1841, fig. 122) which has two accessory pseudo-booms, equally spaced between the two effective booms. Four paddling thwarts are present in addition to the steersman's seat. (See fig. 186.)

The available evidence points to the early type of *tafa'anga* as a multiboom canoe which by reduction of the median booms both in number and length has evolved into the present design of two effective booms and a median one of a vestigial character.

ANCIENT VOYAGING CANOE

The voyaging outrigger canoes had two forms, an earlier and a later. No [177]
description has survived of the earlier type, which was displaced within historic times by a Fijian model. Tasman (1898, fig. 4), however, gives an illustration which depicts a vessel of kindred type to the Fijian *thamakau* but simpler in construction and differing in many important details (fig. 187).

501 The underbody, the hull proper, is without sheer, and is pointed and decked over at each end; in the median section, extending for considerably more than one third the length of the hull, a deep washstrake is fitted on each side, supporting seven athwart beams which project far out on the port side and to a short distance on the starboard side. To their outer ends on the port side a float is attached by pairs of convergent stanchions in the Samoan and Fijian fashion; the float is flat above, round-pointed in front and truncate behind. A wide planked platform is lashed upon the booms where they cross the hull. At both ends it projects beyond its supports, and on each side it also projects outboard some little distance. Two spars at each end connect the pointed end of the hull with each of the adjacent corners of the platform. [171] (In the Fijian *thamakau* there is one only of these connecting spars at each end, both upon the lee side.) No deck fittings are shown. Down the center of the platform a wide continuous hatchway opens into the body of the vessel, exactly similar in position to the long hatch over each hull in the contemporaneous double canoe (*tongiaki*).

The mast is short and vertical, fitted behind the first boom and well forward of the midlength of the hull; probably it was stepped upon one of the booms. Two shrouds pass on the weather side from below the masthead to a stringer lashed athwart the three median booms a few feet outboard; a forestay runs from the same point to the pointed head. No indication is given of a sheet, and halyards were unnecessary. The sail, triangular in shape, is laced or tied along the fore side to a stout curved yard, the foot being similarly fastened to a boom which is shown in the drawing as somewhat lighter than the yard. Instead of being hoisted by means of a halyard, the yard at about midlength rests in a deep fork at the masthead. [175] [177] This unusual arrangement is confirmed by Cook when describing the rig of the *tongiaki*: it is an arrangement clumsy and dangerous in the extreme and it reflects ill on the ingenuity of the Tongan sailors that they did not find any better way of hoisting their sail until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, when they adopted without modification the highly efficient method used by the Fijians. In Tasman's figure the heel of the yard is stepped on the fore decking between the two spars passing from the prow to the fore corners of the platform.

This type of canoe appears to have borne the same relation to its successor, the *vaka* or *hamatafua*, as the old Tongan double canoe did to the *kalia*; both this canoe and the *tongiaki* represent primitive and unhandy craft that gave place to improved types borrowed without alteration or improvement from the Fijians.

VAKA OR HAMATAFUA

175 177 501 A voyaging canoe (*vaka* or *hamatafua*) built after the still-existing Fijian design of the *thamakau* displaced an older and indigenous type soon after the time when intercourse between Tonga and Fiji began to be active in the second half of the eighteenth century. Little information survives regarding its details except a colored figure (D'Urville, Atlas, 1833, pl. 78) and several line drawings (Paris, 1841, pls. 119, 121, fig. 10). The figures by Paris represent what is unmistakabably a copy of a finer type of Fijian *thamakau* than any now existing.

The hull remained much the same as in the older type, but the median platform, instead of projecting equally on each side, extended farther over the outrigger framing on the weather side and the long hatchway became two short ones in order to permit the mast to be stepped between them, immediately over the weather gunwale, and exactly amidships (fig. 188). On the weather side of this, partly over the outrigger frame, an elaborate form of thatched hut was erected, with an open stage and railing above its roof to accommodate the chief and his principal officers; various parts of the framework were adorned with egg-cowry shells.

Of the outrigger booms, three only were connected with the float, the attachment being by paired convergent stanchions; the greater number of the booms failed to extend outboard as far as the float, and became accessory booms functioning solely as supports for the deck platform. Spar struts connecting the ends of the hull with the corners of the platform were present only on the lee side as in the *thamakau*.

From the *thamakau* the design differed in only one particular: the two ends were similar and each was brought to a sharp point instead of one end being deep and sharp, to form a vertical cutwater, the other running fine to a small, ovately truncate extremity a few inches in diameter. Whether Paris is correct in showing the ends similar and sharp-pointed can not now be decided. He depicts the Tongan double canoes of the *kalia* design as having similarly sharp-pointed hulls, which is correct neither for the Fijian *thamakau* and *ndrua* nor for models of Tongan double canoes found in museums, which agree in this and other details with the

Fijian type. It is, nevertheless, not unreasonable to infer that during the transitional period 501
when the change over in type was taking place, Tongans engaged in building large canoes 175
in the Lau Islands of the Fiji Archipelago may have modified this part of the Fijian design 177
to harmonize with the form of the canoe ends which characterized their older and indigenous model (compare Hodges' figures in Cook, 1777). The rig is typically Fijian.

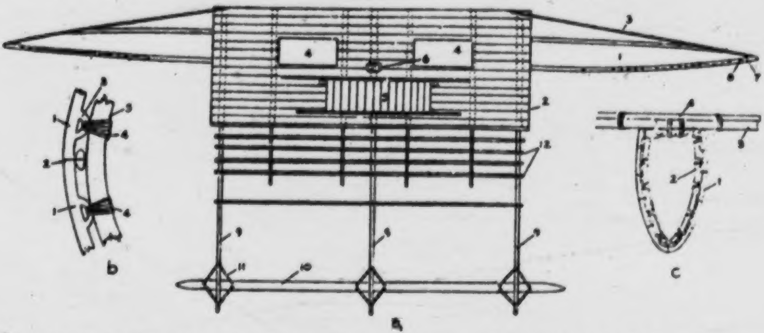

FIGURE 188.—Tongan *vaka* or *hamatafua*. *a*, plan: 1, end cover; 2, deck platform (*raro*); 3, strut between corner of platform and head of canoe; 4, hatchways; 5, deck hut; 6, mast shoe; 7, hole serving as step for heel of yard; 8, vertical hole through which tack of yard is made fast; 9, three main booms; 10, float; 11, paired stanchion connectives; 12, stringers. *b*, details of attachment of portion of rib to hull: 1, two hull planks joined at seam (2) by projecting flanges lashed together through perforating holes; 3, comb cleat, wrongly shown as vertical instead of horizontal, through which lashings (4) pass to secure it to inserted rib (5). *c*, cross section of hull showing ribs and their position within hull: 1, planks of hull; 2, inserted rib; 3, outrigger boom; 4, deck planking. (After Paris, 1841.)

Some memory of this type of outrigger canoe is still retained in Tongatabu. 501
The Rev. John Havea, a Tongan pastor well-known for his wide knowledge of native customs, informed me in 1925 that the proper term for this vessel in Tongatabu is *hamatafua*. It was, he said, a single outrigger of large size, rigged with one mast and a large triangular sail, but propelled by sculls in calms and contrary winds. He added that the hull might either be a very large dugout or be built up of planks sewn together in the manner of the *tafa'anga* and *kalia*. It could carry a considerable number of people.

The only reference in literature to this vessel under its rightful name is one by West (1865, p. 271), who relates how a number of the inhabitants of Atata, in order to escape from a raiding party from Namuka, "hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island . . . Wind and sea carried them straight upon Ata, the Pylstart's Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony".

The *hamatafua* appears to have lingered on till comparatively recent times, for Mr. L. B. Levin of Nukualofa stated to me that he saw what he believes was the last one in 1883 during a visit to Lafonga in the Haapai Islands.

Although this form of *vaka* was copied undoubtedly from the Fijian, it has 177
so many points in common with the older Tongan design that it seems probable 501
that the Fijian was evolved from one akin or similar to this old Tongan one. The presence of a number of accessory booms not connected with the float suggests derivation from a multiboom ancestor such as is seen in Tasman's Tongan figure. The changes in the form of the deck platform and its fittings are also such as would be expected as skill in canoe building advanced, and I am therefore of

Corroboration of the course of evolution above outlined is afforded by the 501
form of attachment seen in a canoe of Mare, in the Loyalty Islands, where, although 178
a Y connective is employed, a very short peg is inserted into the float at each side [171]
of the shank of the Y, to which both pegs are lashed. This would appear to represent
an intermediate phase between the New Caledonian Y and the Tongan U
attachment.

On the other hand, it is possible that the U attachment was introduced into 501
Tonga by a section of the Indonesoids who were the last-comers into Polynesia. 171
In the extreme eastern islands of Indonesia the U attachment, but in the single 177
U form, is common and occurs in the same Moluccan localities as the *orembai* and its near relatives. A double U attachment, but undercrossed, occurs along the whole coast of New Britain and in the Witu Islands; in San Cristoval at the south end of the Solomon Islands it recurs and this time in the overcrossed condition. However, in all these instances the U withies are attached to the float by cord lashings passed around the float itself. I incline to the conclusion that the U attachment seen in Tonga, where the withies are attached to accessory pegs and thereby have indirect attachment, has had a different origin as suggested above. Further, what evidence we have indicates that the U attachment is too recent in Tonga to have been introduced from a comparatively ancient Indonesian source.

The story of Oceania contains many instances of the substitution of new designs for old in canoe details; the islanders are receptive and quick to recognize and adopt any detail in the design of canoes of other islands which by accident or otherwise come under their notice. Instances in point within recent times are the adoption by the Marquesans of a plank connective in place of paired stanchions and the Samoan utilization of the whaleboat design in the construction of their great modern paddling canoe, the *taumualua*, displaced in the present century by the long *fautasi*, rowed by many oars.

DOUBLE CANOES

TONGIAKI

The *tongiaki* was the form of double canoe in use in Tonga till toward the end 501
of the eighteenth century, when the Tongans began to substitute the Fijian *ndrua* 175
(Tongan *kalia*) as a more serviceable and weatherly craft. Fortunately several [178]
excellent illustrations of the *tongiaki* and a fairly full description by Cook him-
self exist. It happened that the change-over of types was beginning when Cook [177]
visited the islands in 1773 and 1774; he saw both and has several references to each.

Schouten (1619, p. 39) came across a *tongiaki* off Tafahi (called by him "Cocos Island") in 1616; it had been drifted out of its course and the crew were in a starving condition:

> [The vessel consisted of] two long and handsome canoes connected together but at some
> distance apart. Along the midships region of each, two broad planks of red wood were [284]
> secured upon the edges [one on each side]; across these [washstrakes] small beams were laid
> [from hull to hull] and over them a platform of planks, the whole carefully fitted and made
> watertight with all the parts strongly lashed together. Toward the fore part of the starboard
> hull was stepped a short mast, forked at the top, on which was slung the sail; this was of [285]
> matting and made after the fashion of those carried by Spanish boats [i.e., the lateen]. . . [283]
> Their cordage was strong and well laid. [See fig. 189.]

Two days later they came across two other vessels of the same kind and the chronicler records:

> The crew of one of them had aboard their vessel a canoe which they could launch whenever the occasion required. [Compare the Samoan custom of shipping two *va'a-alo* aboard [171]

> 175 a *vo'a tele,* their equivalent of the *tongiaki,* when going on a fishing excursion toward Uvea.] . . . The rig of these vessels is so excellent and they go so well under sail that there are few
> 501 ships in Holland that could overhaul them. They steer them by means of two oars at the
> [171] stern, one for each canoe.

175 Toward the upper end of the sail a figure representing a cock was outlined.
501 This was evidently a common Tongan custom, for Forster (1777, vol. 1, p. 462),
285 after remarking that some of these double canoes are large enough to carry 150
531 men, adds, "Their sails are latine, made of strong mats in which the rude figure of a tortoise or a cock, etc., is sometimes represented".

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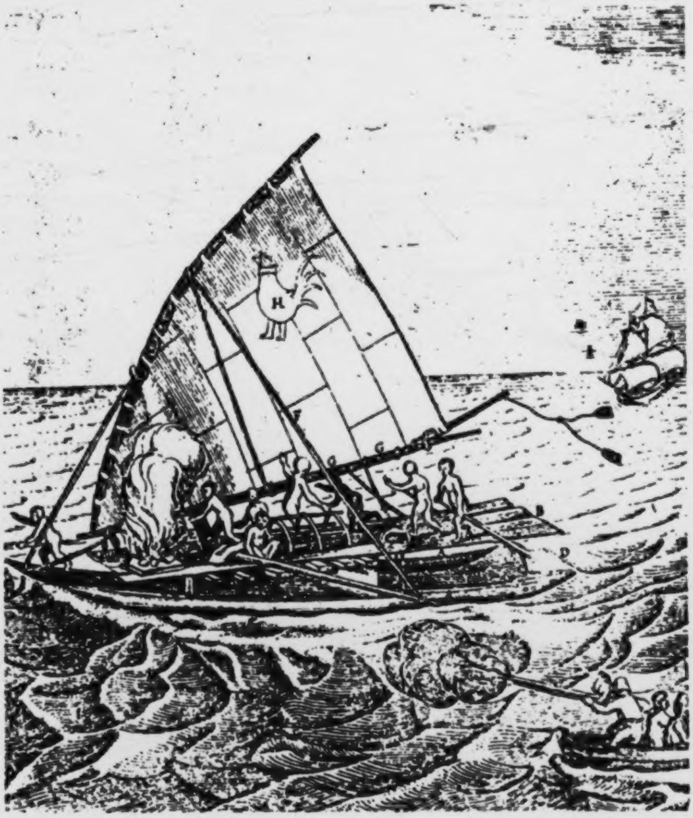

FIGURE 189.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tafahi in 1616 (from Schouten, 1619).

175 Twenty-seven years later, when Tasman discovered the Tongan islands (1643),
501 this fine double canoe so impressed him that he devoted a whole page of his journal to the illustration of one under full sail (1898, fig. 2); another drawing shows two of the same kind of craft at anchor. (See fig. 190.)

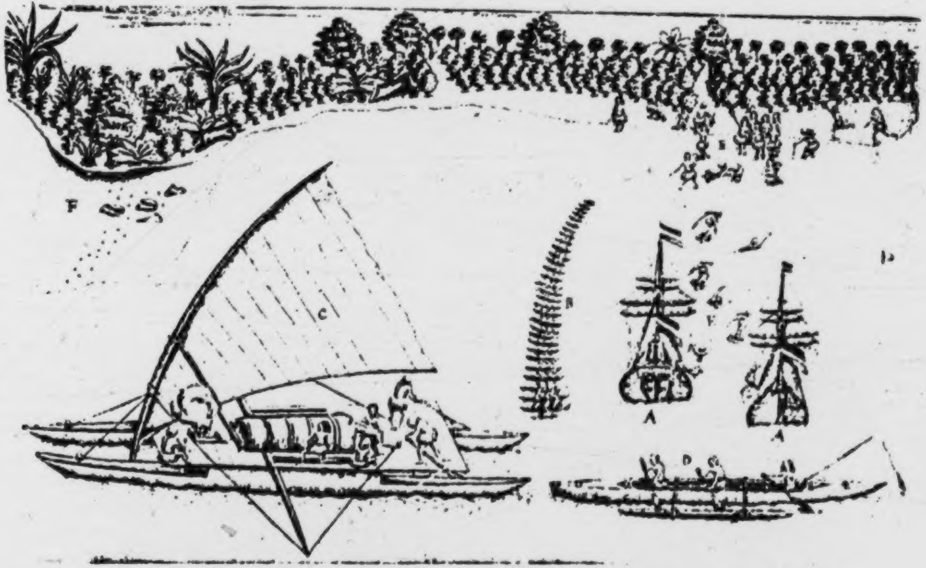

FIGURE 190.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tongatabu in 1643, masthead crutch-shaped, two steering paddles in action; right, bonito fishing canoe (*tafa'anga*), fishing rod correctly shown behind aftmost paddler (after Tasman, 1898).

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501 An equipment not described, but clearly seen in Schouten's and Tasman's figures, is the great balance spar laid athwart the hulls immediately abaft the mast 175 to project outboard on each side. In both these figures the short mast is stepped well forward on the platform and has a crutch-shaped masthead in which the yard rests.

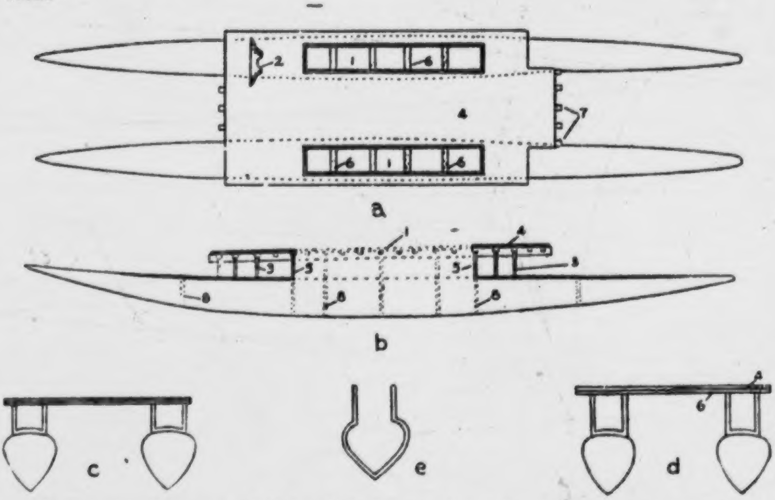

FIGURE 191.—Tongan *tongiaki*, length 69 feet: *a*, plan; *b*, longitudinal section through one hull, vertical dotted lines indicate position of inserted ribs; *c*, cross section through fore end of vessel under fore part of platform; *d*, corresponding section at after end of platform; *e*, cross section of one hull amidships; 1, hatchways; 2, mast shoe; 3, supporting pillars; 4, deck; 5, breakwater to keep water from midships part of hulls; 6, crossbeams supporting deck; 7, fore-and-aft beams under deck (after Cook, 1777).

Cook's description and scaled figures (fig. 191) and the illustrations given by Schouten and Tasman give a clear conception of the build and rig of the *tongiaki*. The two hulls (Cook, 1777, vol. 1, p. 216) were equal in size, "each about 60 or 70 feet long, and from 4 to 5 broad in the middle", the heads pointed and with a slight sheer, the sterns low and bluntly pointed. The bottom of each was sharp along the keel line and the hull in transverse section was distinctly cordate, with sides raised on the edges of the bottom section after the fashion of the *va'a alo* of Samoa and of its local counterpart, the *tafa'anga*, the planks sewn neatly to one another on the inside with stitches passing through a stout beading margining the edges of opposed planks (fig. 188, *b*, 2). The two ends of the open hull thus built were decked over for a considerable distance; the long median section had its sides raised by means of a deep washstrake sewn to the upper edge of the side planking, each end closed in by a transverse board or breakwater.

Two such hulls were connected, 6 to 7 feet asunder, by a number of stout cross beams lashed securely to the upper edges of the four washstrakes. Over these beams (Cook, 1777) and "others supported by stanchions fixed on the bodies of the canoes" was laid a boarded platform of rectangular form. The two extremities projected well beyond the ends of the raised middle section, particularly at the after end, where its longer median part reached nearly to a level with the two

sterns. In Cook's figure the outermost planks on each side are cut off short near 175
the stern, thus forming an angular rest for the great steering paddle (fig. 191). 501
In Tasman's sketch, a steering paddle is seen in operation on the leeward side of each hull at the after end of this platform.

Above the central section of each hull a long hatch was left open in the platform, wherein one of the crew was kept constantly bailing out the water that entered by the seams. Between these two hatchways a low arched hut thatched with palm leaves was placed for the use of the passengers and "to screen the crew from the sun and weather". A movable fireplace (*talafu*), shown in both Schou- [372]
ten's and Tasman's figures, was always carried—a square, shallow wooden trough filled with stones [and earth] (Cook, 1777, vol. 1, p. 217).

The rig is thus described by Cook (1777, vol. 2, p. 18):

> Some [of their sailing vessels], and those of the largest size, are rigged so as to tack 175
> about. These have a short but pretty stout mast, which steps on a kind of roller that is fixed 501
> to the deck near the fore part. It is made to lean or incline very much forward; the head is 502
> forked: on the two points of which the yard rests, as on two pivots, by means of two strong cleats of wood secured to each side of the yard, at about one third its length from the tack or heel, which, when under sail, is confined down between the two canoes by means of two strong ropes, one to and passing through a hole at the head of each canoe; for it must be observed that all the sailing vessels of this sort are double. The tack thus fixed, it is plain that, in changing tacks, the vessels must put about; the sail and the boom on the one tack will be clear of the mast, and on the other it will lie against it, just as a whole mizzen. However, I am not sure if they do not sometimes unlace that part of the sail from the yard which is between the tack and the masthead, and so shift both sail and boom leeward of the mast. The drawings which Mr. Hodges made of these vessels seem to favor this supposition. . . . The outriggers and ropes used for shrouds, etc., are all stout and strong. Indeed, the sail, yard, and boom are all together of such an enormous weight that strength is required.

Cook here makes but bare mention of the long stout spar athwart the deck platform abreast of the mast, which projected outboard on either side to a considerable distance. Cook calls it "the outriggers": properly it is an outrigged spar or balance spar. Its use was primarily to afford attachment to sundry shrouds and guys. Probably it also subserved the purpose of a spar whereon in heavy weather some hands might be stationed on the weather side as live ballast. Williams (1870, p. 64) describes the two ends as "projecting like monster horns".

Exactly how the rigging was arranged is difficult to determine, for the figures by Schouten, Tasman, and Cook disagree. In that of Schouten a guy, or it may be a spilling line, runs from the outer end of the balance spar on the weather side to a point on the yard well above the masthead: in Tasman's large figure it is attached half-way between the masthead and the tack. A short stay or guy is also shown running from each foredeck to the same point on the yard where is made fast the balance spar guy; these are the two ropes mentioned by Cook as confining the tack of the sail between the two hulls. In another of Tasman's figures, where some canoes lie at anchor, a shroud runs from the masthead on each side to an end of the balance spar; a backstay from the masthead is also present.

Two of the principal figures in a plate by Hodges, to which Cook refers, though agreeing in many details with Cook's description, do not agree in all (fig. 192):

> The double canoe in the center of the plate has no balance spar (Cook's "outrigger"); the mast is stepped to one side of the deck cabin; and the heel of the yard, instead of being confined between the heads of the two hulls, is stepped at the head of the port hull as in the *kalia*; features pertaining to the type of the *kalia* are combined with others belonging to the *tongiaki*, so producing a hybrid design. The double canoe on the right in the same plate, although only partly seen, is more typical of the *tongiaki* design as described by Cook; it

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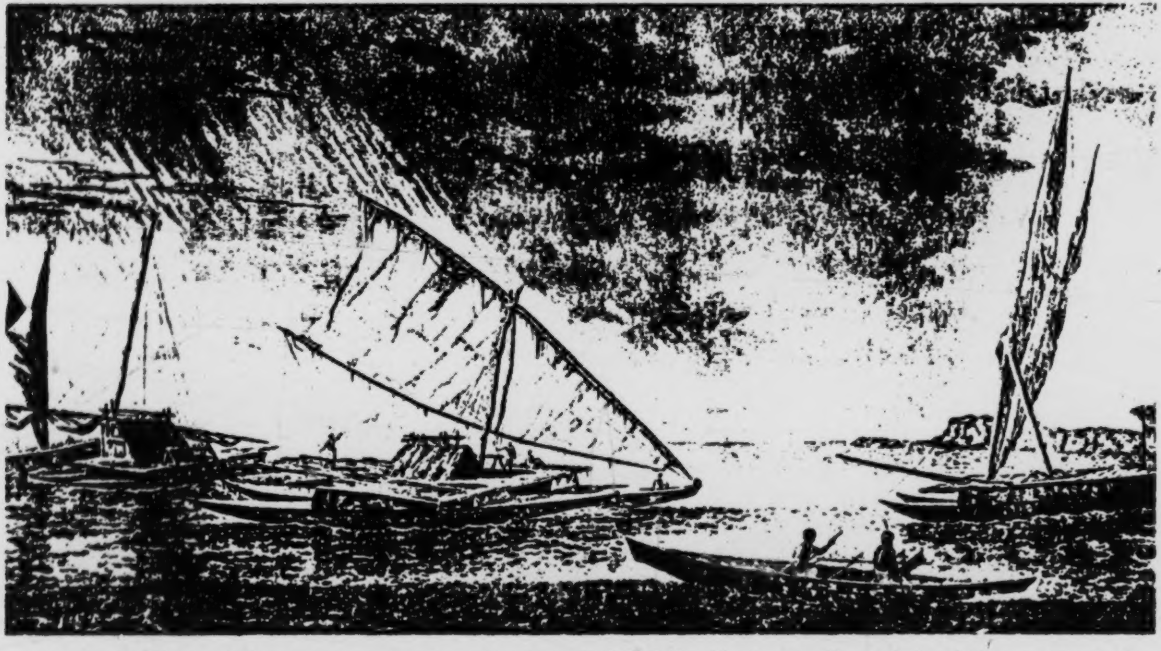

FIGURE 192.—Tongan double canoes; two seem to combine features of the *kalia* with others peculiar to the *tongiaki;* step cleats on after side of mast in canoe at right; in foreground a paddling canoe with stanchion connectives (from Cook, 1777, vol. 2).

shows the deck hut some distance aft of the mast, and the peculiar shoe in which the mast is 175
stepped; a balance spar is present, abreast the mast but projecting only on the port side of the 501
port hull, and a series of small step cleats are shown on the after side of the mast, as well as 502
two broad cleats on opposite sides of the yard at the point where it rests on the forked masthead—features not present in the central figure. A third double canoe on the left in the drawing, though the hulls and platform are those of the *tongiaki*, has the mast stepped amidships, with deck fittings typical of the *kalia*.

Discrepancies are also seen in the drawing of a double canoe in an aquatint by 175
Webber, who accompanied Cook on his third voyage (fig. 193): 501

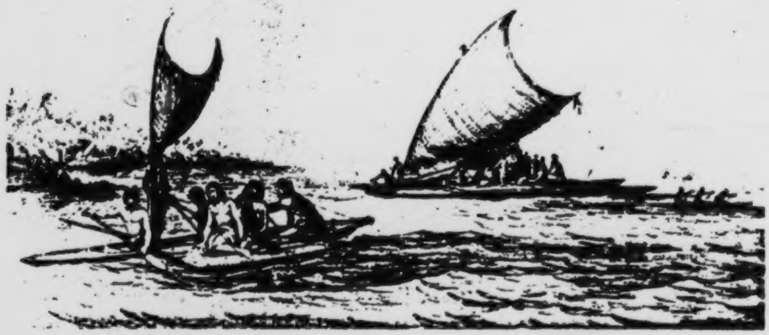

FIGURE 193.—Tongan canoes seen on Cook's third voyage: center, a *tongiaki* having *kalia* features; left, four-boomed sailing outrigger with mast up and sail partly furled against it; balance spar on off-side (aquatint by Webber, published in 1791).

This vessel must be classed as a *tongiaki*, for the hulls are of equal dimensions and are similar in form, with a median row of knobs on each end decking as in the *tafa'anga*. The platform is not raised on a deep median washstrake as in the *kalia*, and there are no spars connecting the head and stern of one hull with the two lee corners of the platform. Conversely, the sail is slung by halyards from the masthead instead of resting in a fork or crutch and appears to be stepped amidships. No balance spar is shown, and the deck hut appears to have a platform over its roof, all characteristics of the *kalia* design.

It is most unlikely that Hodges and Webber should both by mistake mix up
in their drawings the characteristics of the two types. The reasonable explanation [177]
of the departures from the *tongiaki* design shown in their figures is that the *kalia* design—a copy of the Fijian *ndrua*—which at the time of Cook's visits was in course of introduction into Tonga, had been adopted in part only by some of the Tongan chiefs; the inference is natural that, at the beginning of the transition phase, certain of the old *tongiaki* hulls were equipped with the rig and deck fittings of the *kalia*. Only by such hypothesis can the discrepancies noted be explained satisfactorily. A parallel is found in Rotuma.

The *tongiaki* required a steering paddle in each hull; Collocott and Havea 175
(1922, p. 91) state that three were sometimes required for these vessels. They 501
remark also that in fine weather one man apiece sufficed but that when it was 502
stormy more were needed.

The principal features wherein the *tongiaki* differed from the *kalia* were: 1, in 175
the approximate equality of the two hulls; 2, in sailing, the same ends were always 501

175 501 directed forward and in consequence the manipulation of the sail was entirely different; 3, the mast was much shorter and had a forked head in which the yard rested, with the tack of the sail confined by ropes between the prows and not stepped at the fore end of one hull; 4, the presence of an outrigger balance spar; 5, the deck platform was relatively larger and extended considerably farther aft than in the *kalia*; 6, the deck shelter was a tunnel-shaped hut without a platform above the roof.

501 [538] It is common tradition in Tonga today that the *tongiaki* was a notoriously difficult and dangerous craft to handle in bad weather and one not able to beat to windward. It was essentially a fair-weather vessel, a fact pithily expressed in the Tongan proverb, "Takanga a tongiaki", literally, a "*tongiaki's* company", said of a fair-weather friend. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) says: "A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather, but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance".

501 502 [484] The clumsiness and lack of weatherly qualities of the *tongiaki* contributed very largely, if indeed not mainly, to the involuntary colonization by Polynesians of several islands well within the Melanesian area. As Thomson (1908, p. 295) remarks, the rig of the vessel enabled it

> [484] . . . to lie close to the wind on one tack, but on the other the sail was broken up into pockets by the mast, which held the wind and stopped all headway. Consequently it was the practice to wait for a fair wind, and set the sail on what would be the lee of the mast, and if the wind changed there was nothing for it but to change the course. It was, no doubt, this fact that led to so many Tongans' being cast away on remote islands, and to the mixing of Polynesian with Melanesian blood.

501 505 According to the Prince Consort William Tungi, the huge stones of the Haamonga trilithon were quarried at Uvea (Wallis Island) and transported to Tongatabu on an exceptionally large *tongiaki* built on Uvea for the purpose. Collocott and Havea (1922. p. 55) also mention what is probably a variant of the same tradition: a double canoe, the "Lomipeau" (erroneously termed a *kalia*), was used to convey from Uvea many of the stones required in the building of some of the [175] royal supulchral langis on Tongatabu. Another version, recorded by Wilson (1799, p. 284), who was in Tongatabu in 1797, though averring that the langi stones came from Lifuka in the Haapai Islands, confirms the statement of their transport by means of double canoes, according to information which he received from the "Futtafaihe".

KALIA

175 177 501 [171] [484] Like the *'alia* of Samoa, the Tongan *kalia* is in no essential particular different from the Fijian *ndrua*. In Cook's time, 1773-74, the Tongans had begun to acquire some of these magnificent craft from the Fijians in substitution for their smaller and more primitive form of double canoe, the *tongiaki*. A few years later the process was accelerated and Thomson (1908, p. 295) states that "from 1790 to 1810 it had become the custom of Tongan chiefs to voyage to Fiji in their clumsy *tongiaki*, join in the native wars, and take as their portion of the loot Fijian *ndrua*, in which they beat back to Tonga; and in a very few years the *tongiaki* was extinct".

These *kalia* were also built in the Lau Archipelago of Fiji in later years by Tongan carpenters sent there for this purpose by their chiefs. Whether the design was modified in minor details is uncertain. Models of the Tongan *kalia* do not depart from the Fijian design in any respect, but in the figures given by Paris (1841, pls. 118, 121), the ends of both the hulls are shown pointed and similar,

the identical form, indeed, that they had in the older type, the *tongiaki.* Whether 175
Paris' figures are correct in this particular is uncertain; in details his figures 177
sometimes show minor inaccuracies, though as already stated there probably was 501
a transitional period when old *tongiaki* hulls were adapted to the new design borrowed from Fiji. A model which I saw being made in Lifuka in 1925 for the [467]
Prince Consort by an old Tongan carpenter had the Fijian form of head and stern, and the builder, who was reputedly 93 years of age and the last survivor of the old carpenters' guild, asserted that such was the normal and correct shape.

Another difference to be noted is that Paris figures the heel of yard as stepped in a hole at the extreme end of the hull (fig. 188, *a, 7*), instead of lashed against an angular ridge socket not quite so far forward. As Krämer (1902-3, vol. 2, p. 258) shows the heel of the yard in the Samoan *'alia* to be stepped similarly (fig. 171), the probability is that this particular difference in design did exist in Tonga as well as in Samoa.

The double canoe has long been extinct in Tonga, longer indeed than in Samoa, 501
but occasionally, as in Hawaii and Tahiti, two small dugout hulls are temporarily [171]
joined together at some few feet apart by two cross booms lashed athwart the gunwales. One of these is seen in a photograph taken from the "Albatross" in 1899, as she lay in Vavao Harbor (U.S. National Museum negative no. 40181). It is noteworthy that the *bobao* hulls are connected head to stern, as in the double canoes of Manihiki.

TECHNICAL TERMS

According to the old carpenter in Lifuka, many of the principal terms for the 192
various parts were common to Fiji and Tonga, either the same or with the sub- 501
stitution of Tongan words for Fijian when these were descriptive. The more important of these in the two languages are the following (Fijian in parentheses):

Fana (vana): mast.
Fohe (vothe): paddle.
Fohe uli (vothe uli): steering paddle.
Fohe-lahi-matau (?): starboard steering paddle; literally the "large right-side paddle".
Fohe-i-hama (?): left side steering paddle.
Fono (vono): strake or run of planking.
Fono tabu (vono tambu): garboard strake.
Fono bajini vaka (vono laulalo): strake above garboard strake (*bajini,* a necklace made of whale's teeth).
Fono ngutu vaka (vono mbati ni wangga): topmost strake (*mbati,* the mouth, i.e. the open well of the hull).
Hama (thama): the smaller hull.
Hua (sua): scull.
Katea (kata): the larger hull.
Kiato (kaso): cross boom.
La (lathe): sail.
Takele (takele): basal or keel region.
Taumua (taumua levu): fore end or decking.
Taumuli (taumua isilai): after end or decking.
Toko (ndoko): poling stick or quant.
Tomotomo (ndomondomo): topmast.
Tuku (tuku): running fore and back stays of mast, also as a verb, "to slacken" or "to let go".
Vilinga hua (?): sculling hole in platform.

RAFTS

A persistent tradition prevails in Tonga to the effect that in former times rafts 501
were employed in navigation. According to information given by Havea, the name *vakavaka-amei* was applied to this primitive kind of craft. He describes it as a shaped raft with side logs boomed out after the fashion of a double outrigger. He states that his father told him that he had seen a small one made of three logs; the median one was longer than the two lateral ones, which were separated from the median by a space, the whole being kept in position by several poles (*kiato*) laid athwart the three logs and lashed thereto. In larger examples it is said that there was more than one log on each side. Probably if more logs were employed

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have attempted an intercourse with the natives, but 000
the Captain, unwilling to lose a whole night, in waiting for the day, stood forward in his course for the Friendly Islands. As we passed along the glimmering shores, the Island seemed to extend to the distance of fifteen or eighteen miles.

In about five days, we discovered one of the 122
Friendly Islands, named by the Dutch, who disco- 175
vered it, Middleburg, but known to the inhabitants by the name of Eooa. We kept Eooa on our larboard side, or left hand, in order to fall down on Tongataboo, which, we knew, lay to the right.

The mountains of Eooa, which we discerned, were at a considerable distance; so that we ran the whole day, before we reached the confines of the Friendly Islands; and finding we were not likely to make the harbour till it was dark, we stood off, till day-light. The wind blew briskly as the morning dawned, and the Captain crowded sail to take advantage of it, in order, if possible, to steer down the channel, by day-light, into the bay of Tongataboo. This name is properly two words, Tonga-Taboo, [103]
signifying Sacred Island, the reason of which will [243]
appear, when we come to shew, that the Priest of this Island, Duatonga, was reverenced and resorted to by all the surrounding Islands.

As we were entering the channel, a canoe ap- [609]
proached us with two persons in it, natives of Eooa, we supposed, through desire of European articles;

122 but Tongataboo being our object, we stood down
175 the channel in full sail, without attending to them.
609 About ten, the vessel passed an Island, and as it
drew nearer Tongataboo, we discerned the natives
122 flocking down to the beach. The channel was
175 deep and commodious: it narrowed as we advanced
[133] up it, and at length, terminated in a small winding turn, round a point of land, which we doubled
with difficulty.

[609] From a small Island that lay near, we were cheered by the natives. In a quarter of an hour, the ship was through the channel, and in an hour after, dropped down into a convenient place for anchorage.

[609] Before we could well come to an anchor, the ship was surrounded by the natives, who flocked to us from every adjacent Island. The place, before which we anchored, was called Noogollefa: it was near an Island, named Bonghy-moddoo; on which former navigators pitched their tents, as a convenient spot, on account of its separation from the main Island, to preserve themselves from being two much incommoded by the natives.

122 We had not been long at anchor, before we were
175 pleasingly surprised by a visit from two Europeans,
563 named Benjamin Ambler, and John Conelly. The
former said, he was a native of London, the latter, an Irishman, said, he was born at Cork. They stated, that they left an American vessel, that came here, preferring to take up their abode at Tongataboo. But

we soon found that we had greater reason to regret 122
their presence here, than to rejoice at it. They soon 175
shewed themselves to be base and wicked characters; 563
and whatever they pretended, as the occasion of settling here, it is most likely that they were transported for some misdemeanor, and gladly secreted themselves in this Island, where they could indulge, without restraint, in those habits of idleness and profligacy, to which they had been addicted. Bad as they were, however, we thought it prudent to engage their influence with the chiefs in our favour, and applied to them, especially to Ambler (who was the most fluent in the language), to inform the Chief of the Island, that we were come on a peaceful and benevolent design.

Engaged by handsome presents, Ambler and his companion went to the Chief, and impressed him with a favourable opinion of us; and returned in the course of the next day, with an invitation to us to enter the Island, and a promise of a settlement in it. They came, in a large canoe, with many natives of 175
both sexes. The dress and carriage of the two Europeans, 563
were like theirs; they seemed to imitate them in every thing, and much to exceed them in wickedness. Thinking we were as bad as themselves, they swore with the fluency of abandoned seamen, and probably to give us an idea of the impure freedoms, in which they indulged without control, in Tongataboo, they treated the women with

175 brutish indecorum and cruelty, and told us that one
563 of them had three wives, and the other four. They were soon, however, awed into a more reserved behaviour, by our discountenance and reproof; and before long, became our bitterest enemies.

So true is it, that man, left to himself without the restraints of law and civilized life, will, unless the grace of God prevent, soon degenerate into a savage, through the corrupt tendency of his nature to yield to the influence of bad example. And it should excite us to gratitude and obedience, that we live in a land, where the periodical return of a solemn sabbath and the constant recurrence of the means of grace, operate to preserve us from so heathenish an apostasy.

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CHAPTER VII. 000

OCCURRENCES AT TONGATABOO, TILL THE DUFF'S RETURN.

Visited by the Principal Chief.—Missionaries land.—Departure of the Duff, and their sensations on that occasion.—The effect of a Cuckoo-clock on the natives.—Death of Moomooe.—Horrid funeral rites.—Election of a new Chief.—Ill conduct of the three Europeans.—Separation of the Missionaries.—Return of the Duff.

THE venerable Moomooe, the principal Chief, or 175
Dugonagaboola of the Island, soon arrived himself, 643
and confirmed the message which Ambler had 797
brought. Our interview with him and the rest of the natives, gave us a very pleasing impression of their disposition and manners.

He made us a friendly offer of a habitation and land, at Aheefo, seventeen miles distant from the place of anchorage, near the residence of Toogahowe, a principal Chief; that we might be under his protection. This Toogahowe was the son of 175
Moomooe, and Nephew of Feenou Toogahowe, 643
who was the friend of Captain Cook, and reigned 634

175 over Eooa, when that celebrated Navigator landed
643 on this Island. By a course of warlike exploits, in
634 which his power over the other chiefs was confirmed, he became the Dugonagaboola, or principal chief of Tongataboo. The extensive district of Aheefo, consisting of the western part of the Island, was immediately under his government, as the Leige Lord; but the two other districts, into which the Island was divided, of Ardeo, and Ahogge, were also subject to his control; and Futtafaihe, the Chief of the former, and Vaharlo, the Chief of the latter, acknowledged him as their superior.

175 In order to take a speedy possession of the abode, which Moomooe had generously presented to us,
797 I and four or five of the Missionaries entered the canoes, soon after they arrived; and taking with us
[609] a stock of useful articles, set off for Aheefo. Many of the natives were in the canoes, who paddled us back, behaved very kindly towards us, and plentifully supplied us with cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, &c.

It was dark before we reached the place of our destination. The natives went for some persons to assist in conveying our articles to the habitation designed for us; and we had to wait from ten till twelve, before they returned. Our situation, during this time, was by no means pleasant; as we were only five in number, and were therefore afraid that the natives, through desire of our Articles, might be tempted to attack us. Their voices also were constantly heard near us. 175 But through awe of their chiefs, and fear of our firearms, of which they had 797 some knowledge, they were restrained from robbing us. We guarded our little baggage, till the last of the goods were removed; and then accompanied the porters a mile and a half, to the appointed settlement, which the two Europeans had obtained for us. It was a comfortable dwelling, in a [342] little field, inclosed with reeds neatly interwoven, and fastened to green stakes driven into the ground, which had shot forth suckers and branches, that now were entwined into a verdant fence.

By the sixth day, after the ship had come to an 175 anchor, we had conveyed on shore, the principal 122 part of the articles which were then needed, and had met with such a favourable reception from the natives, that already there appeared to us a good prospect of prosperity and peace. The Captain, in the mean time, received and paid visits to the chiefs, carried on a friendly intercourse with the natives, and obtained every requisite confirmation of their friendly dispositions towards us. Finding, therefore, he had little time to spare, as he was bound to China, from whence he was authorised, by the East-India Company, to bring back a cargo of teas, in company with the fleet, he weighed anchor for the Marquesas; whither William Crook and John Harris still retained their determination to proceed,

175 agreeable to the choice they had made before our
122 arrival at Otaheite. After steering round the reef,
he waited for us to come off, to inform him still further,
of the treatment we met with. But at this
time there came on a tremendous gale, which did
not allow us to venture to the ship, and obliged the
Captain to push off from the shores; whence, the
mountainous billows soon tossed the vessel along
the ocean, till we lost sight of her. We watched
her labouring amid the waves, till she sank in the
175 horizon, from our view. A sigh of sadness then
122 arose, and some tears of regret fell from our eyes,
797 whilst we looked round upon this Island, far distant
from the regions of civilized life, as the scene where
we should pass, and end our days. "This," we said,
to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will
moulder to dust. This we must now look upon as
our country, and our grave." But there were ten of
us in company, all social and friendly, all attached
to each other, all of similar sentiment, all at this
time, united in love and zeal for our divine Master,
and all glowing with an earnest desire to convey
the blessing of his inestimable and glorious gospel
to the friendly, but heathen inhabitants around us.

175 Our painful sensations were soon allayed with
797 these considerations, and we turned to our habitation,
endeavouring to address our minds to the
grand concern on which we came; cheered with
the hope that when the ship visited us, in its return

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from the Marquesas, according to orders given before 175 she left England, we should, through the favour 797 of Heaven, have it in our power to present to the Captain a bright and cheering prospect of future usefulness and success. We consecrated our habitation, as soon as the natives retired, (two excepted, who stayed with us as our guard,) with hymns and praises to our God for all his providential mercies, and our favourable settlement in the Island: and then imploring his continued blessing and protection, committed ourselves to rest, much wearied with the fatigues of the day. A sound and pleasing 175 slumber soon relieved, and refreshed us all: from 797 which we were not roused, till the arrival of numerous 609 visitors, who came to pay us their respects, and 431 indulge their curiosity, awoke us. They all appeared persons of rank, as none came without considerable presents of bales of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of ripe plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. They seemed to consider it a great honour to be permitted to enter our habitation; and were anxious to receive any presents from us.

Placed under the protection of a powerful chief, no one offered to molest us; but all appeared to vie in paying us honour and attention. So many presents were at length made us, of beautiful bales of cloth and mats, that we had not room to deposit them all. The cloth was by no means so contemptible 175 as some Europeans may imagine. It was ad- 287

175 mirable,—made as is shown in another part of this
287 work, out of the inner bark of trees, moulded, battered, and spread into a fine stout cloth, which,
fringed with white, forms a very becoming and ele-
175 gant dress. The mats were very curiously wrought
285 with a tasty intertexture of different coloured threads:
some mats were so closely knitted together, that
when laid on the floor, they were a sure defence
from insects, as they were impenetrable to them:
and the insects crept under them, in the same manner as under a floor-cloth, or a board.

In return, we made the natives as many presents
175 as our stock of articles afforded; but especially to
797 the old chief, who was our protector. We always
conducted ourselves towards our visitors with the
utmost cheerfulness; and in every thing that appeared to excite their curiosity, we were most assi-
175 duous to gratify them with information. We soon
fixed up a cuckoo-clock. This was viewed with
797 great surprise, before it was put in motion. Pre-
177 sently, we set it a going; when, out came the cuckoo, and sounded, as the pendulum moved, "cuckoo cuckoo." They were filled with amazement,
and for a time could not take their eyes off; till at
last, they looked at each other with dumb surprise,
and withdrew, without noticing or speaking to us,
in perfect astonishment. The news of this surprising phenomenon, soon spread all over the Island.
They reported we had got Accoulair, i. e. "wood

that speaks." Every one who saw it, went and told 175
his neighbour "Nago* mamattai accoulair." i. e. I 797
saw the wood speak." The numerous visitors that 797
it attracted to our habitation, wholly employed us 177
from early in the morning till late in the evening.
We were obliged therefore to rise at a very early 175
hour, to unite in our morning devotions before they 797
came to interrupt us. Our visitors, at length, so 609
multiplied, that we were obliged to refuse admittance to many. Every chief came with a large train of attendants; but as they were habited like the rest, we were obliged to behave with attention to all, lest we should, perchance, not distinguish a chief, and so give offence.

Amongst our visitors was Duatonga, or Futtafaihe, 175
who, next to Dugonagaboola, was the most power- 643
ful chief in the Island. He was son of Poulaho, a descendant of those, who were supposed originally to have descended from the sky. When Captain Cook was at Tongataboo, this native was eleven years of age. After the death of his Father, which happened when he was too young to have any share in the government, his Mother lost the sovereignty.

Toogahowe, or Dugonagaboola, who was a great

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*Nago is a kind of affix in their language, used very frequently at the beginning of sentences, like now, so, well, &c. in our tongue, in conversation.

175 warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his
649 Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning
chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the
175 cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we
649 had several, we were glad of this opportunity of
797 gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so
177 acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put it together again. We were sent for to mend it; we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful. This excited great laughter among them, and brought down upon us much ridicule. They were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful and cleaver[1] as we.

175 Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief,
died. His disorder and danger excited great con-
649 cern through the Island, and one of his own sons
[782] was slain, through a delusive hope that his health
[763] and strength would be communicated to his dying
Father.

175 But it is beyond the power of description, to paint
766 the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which
took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted
[769] round his tomb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

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[1] [Errata: this should read "clever." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

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were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at 175
the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatooka 766
was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral 768
pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round [764]
which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for [349]
ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The
space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæstra 175
for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, 766
with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for 765
the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and 304
death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was over, fought with each other, and cut themselves with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars, their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, [534]
we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and 175
all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing 643
a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the [662]
field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

175 649 [662] in the post of distinction, had, ever since, strengthened his power with the chiefs by making them his companions and friends. No sooner therefore were they met, in publick assembly, than one stepped forth from the circle, and proclaimed, "Do bou Toogahowe Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma toolou." i. e. Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we will do as we please; upon which he was unanimously elected, as none dare[1] to oppose him.

Futtafaihe had entertained the hope of regaining, by the vote of this general assembly, the family authority, which his Mother had lost: but as Toogahowe was elected the Dugonagaboola, by the voice of the chiefs, he thought it best quietly to acquiesce in their decision.

175 197 177 We soon became intimate with many of the chiefs; and in separate parties, often joined them in distant excursions, and were treated with the best of every thing which the Island afforded.

175 197 563 From our own countrymen, we met with our greatest troubles, at this time. No sooner had the ship left the shores, than the two Europeans before mentioned, joined by a third, named Morgan, whom we likewise met with on the Island, began to disturb and harrass us.

Our conduct, so different from their abandoned habits, excited their enmity: and their eagerness for our articles, soon compelled them to show it. Out of kindness to them, as our countrymen, how-

1 [Errata: this should read "dared." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235—Analyst]

ever unworthy in themselves, we had given them 175
various commodities to a considerable amount; till 747
their applications to us became intolerable. We 563
were obliged to refuse them; and then they shewed themselves in their true character. They demanded the goods, as their right! and one day, forcibly entered our habitation, and attempted to seize them. We then stood upon our defence, and repelled force with force. One of them ran up to Kelso, and struck him, the other also made an attempt on one of us; but overpowering them with numbers we soon drove them off the ground: they left us however with dreadful imprecations and threats, that they would inflame the natives against us, and that not one of us should be left alive by morning. Could they have influenced the natives, I have no doubt they would have murdered us all. They attempted it with all their might, but a gracious, vigilant Providence frustrated their evil designs. Indeed, their bad conduct had rendered them too unpopular, to have much sway with the natives; and at length, it provoked them to inflict upon them that death, in which they wished to have involved us.

Their conduct and menaces, however, alarmed us; and for this reason, and on account of the small progress which we had made in the knowledge of the language, by living together, separate from the natives, we came to a determination to part, and to take up our abode, in little parties, with different

175 chiefs: with some of whom, all of us were become
797 intimately acquainted, from our many visits and ex-
[563] cursions among them.

Upon this point, a deputation was sent to consult our old chief Toogahowe, who was now Dugonagaboola, under whose protection we lived, who was of chief authority in the Island. The plan receiving his approbation, we took leave of each other. Two went to live with Vahargee, at Ardeo, one with Moolee, in the district of Ahogge; an inferior chief, but an industrious man, and possessed of a considerable tract of fertile land. I went alone to live with one Mulkaamair, the first chief in the Island, next to Dugonagaboola. Two went to live with Duatonga, at Mooa, and three remained at Aheefo.

Two or three months had now elapsed since the ship left us. During my stay with Mulkaamair previous to the ship's return, I went once to visit the brethren. This I found of considerable use to revive and strengthen my religious principles, and to fortify me against those temptations with which I was daily surrounded, and enticed. It would have been well, had I more frequently assembled with them.

Every means of grace was now of great importance. I was going, the second time, to pay them a visit, for which purpose I set off in a small canoe [177] for Aheefo, to wash my clothes. But, just as I was

leaving Mooa, and coming down the channel by 175
Noogoo, I discovered a ship in full sail, at a distance. 197
I concluded it to be the Duff, and immediately 177
stood forward to meet her, and followed her to the place of anchorage. The Captain was rejoiced to see me. I immediately dispatched a messenger to the rest of the brethren, to hasten them to the vessel. It was not long before several were on board; but some, from their distance, did not arrive till the next day. Our meeting was joyful indeed. The [563]
Captain was pleased with the relation which we gave him of our treatment amongst the natives; but our account of Ambler and Conelly determined him to take them, if possible, and carry them prisoners to England, to answer for their illegal attempts on their own countrymen, at a bar where distance from the seat of justice, would be found no excuse for the transgression of her laws, and the lapse of time would not be allowed to diminish its enormity.

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to the Marquesa's, was so terrified and disgusted by 000 the indecent behaviour of the natives towards him, that instead of staying to civilize and improve them with the light of christianity, he deserted his post and fled to the sea shore, where he was taken up by the vessel; leaving poor young Crook to attempt, alone, the arduous work of evangelizing these benighted heathens. Crook, however, whom they afterwards saw, did not wish to return with him to Otaheite, but with apostolic firmness determined to remain, though by himself.

As the Captain had given orders to seize the Europeans, who had showed us all the ill usage in their power, and had attempted our destruction, we proceeded to the habitation of Conelly, and seized him, and brought him prisoner to the Duff. But Ambler and Morgan hearing of our intention, made their escape, and eluded our search. 175 563

We now proceeded to a division of the property, which the Missionary Society had sent in the vessel. Their liberality much exceeded our expectation. We found abundance of hardware, wicker-work, metal, earthenware, prints for thin trowsers, jackets, &c. and books. We conveyed our respective portion of each article to our different residences, which much ingratiated us with our chiefs, who considered all as their own, because we were their inmates. I presented all my stock to my chief, but with a royal generosity, he refused to ac- 175 797

175 cept of any thing; telling me he did not want
797 my property, but me.

One day, Ambler and Morgan, who had heard
175 of our endeavour to take them, entered my habitation,
797 armed, with an evident design of revenging themselves by murdering me. I expected that in-
563 stant to be speared. But providentially there was a chief with me, who they knew had a great regard for me: they departed therefore without molesting me. I learned whither they had retired, and immediately went to the vessel; and Mr. Faulkner the third officer, myself and some others proceeded directly, well armed, to their retreat. We had searched several spots without success, till night came on. At length I advanced from the field by myself, before the rest, up a narrow lane; and meeting with some of the natives, I inquired of them if they had seen Ambler. They replied by seizing me, and held me immoveable by my arms behind. I could easily have shot one of them with a pistol, which I held ready loaded in my hand; but knowing that my own death would have instantly followed, I forbore to touch the trigger. They dragged me forward, along the lane, and threw me on my back. Whilst two or three held me, another raised his club to strike me on the head. I despaired of escape, and expected the suspended club would finish my life. But, that instant, the moon emerged from under a cloud; and shining full in my face, as I lay

upon my back, discovered who I was. The natives immediately dropped their clubs, awed by reverence for the chief, with whom I resided, as they well knew I was a great favourite with him. 175 797 563

Just then Mr. Faulkner and his party, alarmed by my outcries, came up, and fired upon my assailants, but missed them. They fled, but followed us afterwards for some time, as we retired to the boat. I did not enter the boat with them, but returned to my chief. I was surprised, when I arrived at his habitation, to find the doors of the inclosure secured: and was obliged to stay some time in the publick road. At length, roused by fear of pursuers, I succeeded in forcing the entrance. I was more alarmed, when I entered, to perceive the natives all under arms. As I approached, they pointed their spears at me. I inquired for the old chief: they sent for him, but told me in the mean time that they were informed by Ambler and Morgan, that it was our intention to kill them, and seize the Island.

These men had succeeded in exciting the indignation of the natives against us by this malignant calumny. They took every step to lessen us in their esteem, and to exalt themselves. They gave it out, that they were persons of the greatest consequeuce, that one was the king's son, the other a duke, or great chief; but that we were only of the lower class, and servants to them in our own country.

175 By this time, old Mulkaamair arrived, and re-
797 ceived me with as much joy as ever. I convinced
him that we intended them no injury, but every thing
563 that was good; and that it was only the two turbulent
Europeans that we wished to take. I informed him
too of our danger, and the loss of my pistol, which
was wrested from my hands when I was seized.
He promised I should have it again, and sent for it.
Having used every means to take the Europeans,
without effect, we gained over the chiefs to our side,
and agreed that they should continue on the Island.

175 The Captain, finding he must not delay his re-
797 turn, made preparations to depart. We wrote many
letters to our friends in England, which when the
177 Captain had received, he affectionately bade us fare-
well; assuring us that he thought himself bound, as
far as it lay in his power, to see that the solemn en-
gagement, by which the directors of the mission
had pledged themselves to us, should be accom-
plished; which was, that "sooner than neglect us,
they would suffer every evil and inconvenience
themselves." We took an affectionate leave of our
beloved and pious Captain. I felt more affected
175 at parting with him than I ever did before. When
797 we returned to the shore we retired to our respec-
tive dwellings; and, as we had much property, en-
deavoured still more to engage and confirm the
friendship of our chiefs, by making them large and
frequent presents. Indeed this was necessary to our
safety.

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Ambler also and Morgan, though they never were 1795
reconciled to us, yet came to us in a mild manner, 1797
and were glad to pretend a reconciliation with us,
in order to get some of our articles. We enriched 563
them with presents of considerable value; for trifling
articles amount to great possessions in Tongataboo;
yet they did not desist from their endeavours
to prejudice the natives against us, by every possible
unjust insinuation. But the Chiefs would not listen 1795
to them. Some of them, however, became suspicious 1797
of us; and in an assembly gave it as their opinion 563
that we should not be suffered to remain there. But
Mulkaamair, my friend and chief, made them the 565
following answer. "If the men of the sky, discovered
"by any attempts of violence, or secret
"whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and
"kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them
"out from among us; but they have brought great
"riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap
"the good fruits of their living among us, their articles
"are of great use to us, they behave themselves
"well; and what could we wish for more?"

This satisfied the objectors; and we gradually 1795
increased in the esteem of the natives. Old Mulkaamair 1797
was, indeed, an unalterable friend to us all; 565
when he saw any of us coming to his habitation,
he would lift up his hands and clap them with joy,
and take us by the hand, and say, "Noofou ge lala,
ge tou tellanooa," i. e. "Sit down, let us have some

175 talk with you;" and then he would make us sit by
177 him, and treat us in the most hospitable and gene-
565 rous manner, as long as we chose to stay.

We thought it safest to have no correspondence
175 with Ambler and Morgan; and, indeed, there was
566 soon no need to court their favour, or fear their displeasure; for they speedily lost the esteem of the natives. Whatever pretensions they made of being dukes or princes, the natives had sense enough to conclude, that if they were really men of rank, they would have received presents from their country, as well as ourselves. But, as they had none to bestow, they were treated with little respect; and at length, their bad conduct obliged the natives to put them to
[683] death. Ambler, at the breaking out of a civil war, which will be related in its place, had spoken very disrespectfully of a neighbouring chief: for which, and for his endeavours to excite disturbances in the
[684] Island, the natives killed him. Morgan came to the Vavou Islands, just before I went to take possession of one of them, and here, for the brutal violation of a chief's daughter, he was put to death.

I had now taken up my residence with Mulka-
175 amair, without any companion to admonish, correct,
177 or assist me. The temptations of my situation, uniting with my natural depravity, now no longer restrained by the presence of others, but fostered by all around, gradually corrupted my soul, and overcame me.

Here, therefore, I am approaching a period of my life, in which I little regarded the pure heavenly design on which I set out, and disgraced my character as a christian. The remembrance of this has caused me bitter remorse, and often fills me, still, with deep contrition, shame, and self abhorrence. But I trust, by the grace of God, I have now truly repented. I hope in the mercy of God through that gracious Redeemer who "came to seek and save the lost," and "call sinners to repentance." I am cheered by the belief that "he is able to save all that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them;" and I endeavour, by the aids of his blessed Spirit, which, I daily need, and therefore daily implore, to walk again in the paths of righteousness. 175 797

From the period that I returned to live with Mulkaamair; when the ship left the Island, and I bad adieu to my companions, I had little or no connexion with them. The remainder of this Narrative will, therefore, relate principally to myself, and the circumstances in the Island, in which I took a part, until my merciful escape from it. In this, I shall not disguise my conduct, but declare every thing with that scrupulous attention to truth, without exaggeration or palliation, to which I have endeavoured, uniformly, to adhere, in all that I have related. If the circumstances that perverted me from the paths of righteousness and purity, and the 175 797 121

175 unhappy influence which they had on my mind,
797 should serve as a caution to future missionaries, or
121 deter any from those omissions of duty, and those
indulgences of depraved inclination, which lead to declension and destruction, the narration of my disgrace will not be useless nor unprofitable.

CHAPTER IX. 000

A DAY AND NIGHT AT TONGATABOO.

Mulkaamair's house.—His family.—Bed-time.—Night.—Breakfasting on Kava.—Subjection of the lower classes.—Day as passed by the chiefs.—Evening's amusements.—Dances.—Dress and ornaments.—Musick and songs.—Superiority of the lower classes in Britain.

THE house of Mulkaamair, with whom I resided, 175
was very spacious; its length was fifty feet. It was 342
of an oval form. One large and lofty post was fixed in the centre; and round it, in an oval circle, were placed less posts, at equal distances, which formed the sides of the habitation. Upon these posts layers were fixed, to which rafters were fastened, that extended to the pillar in the middle, and
united the whole building with it. The inside of 175
the roof was ornamented with warm beautiful mat- 342
ting, which was sheltered on the outside with a skil- 285
ful intertexture of the branches of the plantain tree. 352
In rainy weather, screens of matting, called Takkabou, made of branches of the cocoa-nut-tree, were fastened to the side posts, which almost reached the

175 eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was
342 never closed, night nor day.

285 Such spacious habitations are necessary for the
352 chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed
175 of many attendants. But there are generally
342 small apartments contiguous to the house, in which
565 his wives and children lodge. One of his wives,
however, for the most part, slept with him in the
175 same room, in a space, separated from the rest by
342 inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high,
565 fitted up to the beams, that went across to the centre
595 post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable.
175 He had at different times from four to eight wives,
592 eight sons and five daughters, besides many attendants.
565 The children were all in great subjection
554 to him, and of different rank and dignity, according
to the rank of their respective mothers. For family
611 dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the
586 father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to
896 the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse.
When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they
175 were not disposed to dance, they would retire to
513 bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment
175 of the day took place. As they lay reclining
513 at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous
521 household, that lay round him, would commence
conversations, that amused them till they all fell
asleep.

I have been delighted, for hours, in listening to 175
these nocturnal confabulations, and often very much 513
surprised and improved, by the shrewdness of their
observations, and the good sense of their reasonings. 521
When they were all lain down, the chief would say, 175
" Tou tellanoa." " Let us have some conversation."
Another would answer, Tou Tellanoa gee aha, i. e. 513
" what shall we talk about." A third would reply, 521
" Tou Tellanoa ge papa langee." " Let us talk of 829
the men of the sky." They called us "the men of
the sky," because, observing that the sky appeared
to touch the ocean, in the distant horizon, and
knowing that we came from an immense distance,
they concluded that we must have come through
the sky to arrive at Tongataboo.

I have heard them for hours talking of us, our articles, dress, and customs, and entertaining each other with conjectures respecting the distance of the country, whence we came, the nature of it, its productions, &c, &c.

Their patriarchal mode of life, in which the young- 175
er and inferior part always surround the chief, as
the father of one large family, is calculated much 565
to refine and improve their mental faculties, and to [619]
polish their language and behaviour.

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and

175 distinct from those of the lower and laborious clas-
565 ses, as the man of letters, or the polished courtier dif-
fers from the clown. The lower orders used terms
175 of a much meaner and coarser import: the higher
565 orders were so much refined, as often, for amuse-
195 ment, to take off the vulgar by imitating their ex-
pressions and pronunciations. The family of Duatonga, if they spoke to any of the domestics, or visitors, would always be answered, "Ahee," "Yes Sire", but most others were answered with, "Cohou", Yes Sir; this latter term, if pronounced as it is spelt, would be a polite reply, but if spoken as if it was spelt Cohaa, it would be very vulgar, and signify our broad expression "What", and if spoken to a chief, the man would be struck down for his rudeness.

175 Their nocturnal conversations would continue till
ten or eleven in the evening, till they all fell asleep.
513 Their conversation and comparisons were sometimes
521 so very droll and ludicrous, that I occasionally burst
out into a fit of laughter which would make them say "Coe Kata gee aha Balo" What are you laughing at Balo? "Mannogge abai eyette ge mou touloo." "He is making game of us I suppose". They called me by the name of Balo.

If one chanced, during the night, to awake, he would renew the conversation with some neighbour that might happen to rouse, and then they would call to each other till they all awaked, and enjoy another hour's chat.

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As soon as the morning dawned, they arose; and 175
then took place the important ceremony of drinking 276
Kava, and eating yams, &c. which formed their breakfast; in which as much order and exactness were observed, as in the forming and exercising a regiment of soldiers. The Kava is a root planted principally for the use of the chiefs: and too scarce for the lower orders.

It is made into a spirit of an intoxicating nature. The top and branches of this plant are thrown away. The root alone is used, and this is of a soft nature, that may be beaten to pieces. The root is first scraped with a shell, and rubbed clean with the rough husk of the cocoa-nut, and then divided among the company to be prepared for making the liquor.

A large circle is formed by the whole company, 175
all sitting in the same posture, with their legs crossed. 276
The chief sits at the head of it. On each side of 574
him are stationed the tackhangers, or ministers of the chief, to superintend the preparation of the Kava. The Kava is then brought before the chief. The person who is to mix it, by order of the Tackhangers, then splits the root into small pieces with a flat piece of wood, or whale bone, which they procure from the bodies of dead whales that are sometimes thrown upon the coast. The pieces of Kava root thus split, are then distributed amongst the circle, who hand them to the young people a-

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175 mong them who have clean teeth, fit to chew it. 276 Each person has a leaf by him, on which he lays 574 his portion of masticated Kava root. When it is all chewed, a large bowl with three legs is handed round, and they empty their leaves, containing the prepared Kava root, into it. The bowl is then placed within the circle opposite the chief; and on each side of it are seated two young men, with plantain leaves, to keep off the flies. The person who has the management of the bowl having received the different portions of masticated root, turns it on one side to show it to the tackhangers, and with his face towards the chief, calls out to the tackhangers, "Gooch Kava anama." "All the Kava is chewed."

If the tackhangers judge that there is sufficient for the company, they say "Baloo," "mix it." Then one of the persons holding the fans of plantain branches, pours water out of cocoa-nut shells, which stand near them in readiness, while the other keeps off the flies. As he pours, the tackhanger notes and regulates the quantity, and at length calls out "Moua," i. e. "stop."

The root, thus chewed, and mixed with water, is then squeezed by handfuls held up for the tackhangers to judge of the strength of the liquor, as it falls into the dish: if it appears sufficiently strong, a strainer is brought, made of the inner bark of a tree, which, when scraped thin and fine, and well

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175 276 574 washed, is laid out to dry, and becomes very white and clean. With this, they strain the liquor from the masticated Kava root. When they have repeated the straining three or four times, and perfectly cleansed it, the person who sits by the bowl calls out "Tooma Kava," the "Kava is clean." During this time the company, who are sitting in silence, are not idle: they form dishes in a curious and skilful manner of plantain leaves. As soon as the Kava is ready, appointed persons rise from the circle with their plantain dishes, and approach the bowl. The man who mixed it then takes up a large strainer full, and another holds his dish underneath, over the great bowl, till it is filled. The former then calls out, "Kava go aga." "Whose is this Kava?" The tackhanger replies, "Havee ge Dabou." "Take it to Dabou," or to any other person whose name was mentioned. In this way, the name of every one of the company is repeated, before he is served. The person whose name is pronounced, then claps his hands, and the waiter, by this signal informed which it is, takes the Kava to him. The persons serving it out to the company, conduct themselves in the most becoming and orderly manner, arranging their apparel with the greatest neatness, walking with grace, and presenting it with ceremonious po- [576] liteness. If a man were to conduct himself with the least disorder or disrespect, the chief would or- [649] [516] der him to be struck down. When they present

175 the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of
276 whom are considered sacred, they must sit down
574 cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their
[643] hands.

[516] During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaagee,
or principal servants of the chief, are busily
[252] employed in an out house built for the purpose, in
[264] baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring
in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them
[285] before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they
[262] go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava;
[521] and during their meal talk with each other, as they
please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava,
175 they always drink it in companies in this festive
565 manner; in which they often spend the two or three
276 first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure,
574 however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact
it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and
175 their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power
565 over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging
421 to them in their power, which their sub-officers
take from them, without ceremony, as the
175 chief may need. Though the provision they have
565 by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook
261 a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently
obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a
[262] wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and
beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order 175
the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions 565
for him by a limited time; with which he lays up 261
a store for himself, and his wives and household;
and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day 175
to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants 512
are completely tired of waiting on them. They [276]
then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; [513]
when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, [517]
or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or
any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly
in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting
of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, 175
in which they generally indulge two or three times 526
a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

175 526 dived down to take his place. I have seen one person carry a stone of considerable weight ten or twelve yards in this game, through the buoyant aid of the water.

But they take particular delight in another amusement in the water, called Furneefoo. They go down to the flat shore, at high water, when the swell rolls with great force to the land, and plunge in and swim some yards into the sea, then pushing themselves on the top of the swell, they ride in, close to the shore. It is astonishing to see with what dexterity they will steer themselves on the wave, one hand being stretched out, as the prow before, and the other guiding them like a rudder behind: and though they are riding in upon the swelling billow, with a frightful rapidity, that makes you apprehend they will be dashed and killed upon the shore, they will, with surprising agility, turn themselves suddenly, on one side, and darting back through the next wave, swim out to sea, till another swell waft them on towards shore; when, if inclined to land, they will again turn themselves on one side, and, awaiting the wave's return, dart through the refluent surge, and reach the shore in safety. Several hours are often spent at one time, in this sport, in which the women are as skilful as the men. I never attempted this diversion myself, as the trial might have been fatal.

175 But in another amusement, in which the chiefs
224
565

often divert themselves, viz. shooting rats, I became, 175
after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To 224
provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of 565
the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed,
the servants are sent to strew it in places near the
road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile [525]
the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station
near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like
the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon
the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for
his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills
the most, in the same number of shots, wins the
game.

They are a very active people, yet they often 175
spend whole days, when they have no particular 517
employment, in luxurious indolence. These days [461]
they generally close in dancing and singing; of [535]
which they are peculiarly fond. [533]

The chief will send round the district, and col- 175
lect together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of 535
both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light [373]
of tomais, or torches, formed, as we before showed, [416]
from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree. [824]

These dances are very beautiful. Young women
of the most graceful figure and comely features as- [301]
semble on these occasions, their dark ringlets be- [824]
spangled with aromatic flowers of a peculiar white-
ness, their necks and shoulders encircled with
wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

175 gether like beads, their graceful limbs covered only
535 with a thin drapery, and in some cases, only shaded
[301] with an entwined garland of gee-leaves.

[824] Their dances are very much diversified, and performed with admirable grace and uniformity, by companies of eighty or a hundred, who all move together with the greatest exactness. I never saw soldiers go through their evolutions with more prompt regularity than these companies time the diversified motions that compose their dances.

They seem in their element, when dancing: such is the ease, pleasure, grace and activity which they exhibit, in every intricate part of this favourite amusement.

175 Their musick is not so pleasing. The principal
533 instrument is a kind of drum, formed out of a log
of wood, hollowed through with a long small aperture,
175 and laid lengthways upon two pieces of
534 wood. This is beaten whilst eight or ten bambooes, of different lengths, with pieces of wood fastened and bound to the end of them, are struck against the barrel, and produce a sound according to
175 the length of the stick. Of these drums they have
533 two or three; which, with the bambooes and the
[534] singing, make a little rough concert. Their songs are
beautiful and melodious; partaking more of a lively
175 than a plantive air, but rather monotonous. These
535 dances are often performed in particular spots where
there are large trees. To these places the young

people resort for this purpose. They are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance. 175 595

So fond are they of this amusement that they dance almost on all occasions. However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy: in which I have seen the women so eager that they have forgotten all sense of decorum and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion. [165] [292]

This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the Kava is prepared, and distributed in the exact order I have described; and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the Badoo, or Kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the guests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day, which is however sometimes diversified with boxing, or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening. 175 512

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs. The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour, not only for themselves, but for their superiors; and, after all, 175 565 [512]

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175 their little stock is not secured to them by that inviolable right of private property, and personal safety, which, in our unequalled land of liberty and law, renders the poorest peasant as secure and independent as the senate that guards, or the Sovereign that rules it.
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CHAPTER X.

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THE AUTHOR'S DECLENSION.

Bad influence of heathen customs.—Progress of it. —He joins in their amusements and dress of the natives.—His marriage.—Ill effects of it.

ACCUSTOMED to these scenes of pleasure, luxury, and amusement, unrestrained by the presence of my companions, unassisted by any publick means of grace, having singly to stem the torrent of iniquity, it was not long before I felt the pernicious influence of general example. This however was much owing to my own negligence of private duties, and my yielding to the corrupt inclinations of my sinful nature. Indeed, when I look back, I perceive that the unsubdued propensities of my heart, which began to operate before I came to reside with Mulkaamair, were not duly resisted. Instead of praying for grace to withstand and mortify them, I began to indulge in foolish imaginations, and to neglect the needful exercises of private prayer, reading the bible, and meditation. These first steps out of

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175 the path of duty, which are generally taken by most
297 backsliders, soon led me into still farther aberrations from the right way. I began to dislike the means of grace, I never visited the brethren, found delight in the company, manners and amusements of the natives; and soon took too large a part in them. As the religious impressions of my mind were weakened, the corrupt dispositions of my heart gathered strength. Yet, at times, my conscience troubled me with loud accusations of inconsistency; which forced me to pray. At length, however, I became so hardened as to despise my convictions; and totally absented myself from those appointed periodical meetings of the brethren, which might have revived them. My regard for them daily diminished, and I left off visiting them.

My evil inclinations, now unchecked by law, and by the reverential sense of the Divine Being, gradually gained the dominion. As my sense of the turpitude and guilt of sin was weakened, the vices of the natives appeared less odious and criminal. After a time, I was induced to yield to their allurements, to imitate their manners, and to join them in their sins.

Modesty, by degrees, lost with me its moralizing charm; and it was not long ere I disincumbered myself of my European garment, and contented myself with the native dress.
[291] The dress of the chiefs principally consisted of a piece of cloth,

several yards in extent, wrapped round the body, 175
and fastened by a peculiar kind of knot, below the 797
bosom, whence it hung down loose, below the
knee. This dress, by being tied close with a belt, 291
was sufficiently long to throw the upper part over
the shoulders. But however this was done at other 175
times, it was always thrown off the shoulders when- 797
ever a chief came in sight. The women were not 576
excused from this humiliating token of submission, 565
as long as they were in the presence of a chief. A 291
person who should neglect this would be instantly
struck to the ground, as guilty of the greatest disrespect.

This full dress however was too costly for the ge- 175
nerality to procure, nor do the chiefs always wear it. 291
The general dress is the Jiggee. This is made of the Gee leaves, which spring up from a large root and are very broad and strong. These are shreded fine; and being thickly entwined in a belt of the same kind, and fastened round the waist, they hang down to the mid-thigh like a full fringe. On festive occasions this is a very common dress with the women as well as the men, especially in their publick dances, when the only addition to this dress are encircling strings of flowers. There are none but can obtain the Jiggee-dress.

The inferior classes, however, often wear only the maro, which is a belt about four or five inches broad, crossed and fastened round the waist. And indeed

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175 when they are employed in fishing or any other ac-
291 tive business, or when they go to war, this covering generally composes the whole of their dress.

At this time Shelly, one of my former companions,
175 came to see me; he was struck with grief and sur-
291 prise at my appearance; and seriously reproved me for it. My conscience seconded his repoofs. I acknowledged my error, but excused myself by a variety of empty pretexts; such as the warmth of the climate, the general custom of the natives; its convenience in a country, where, when clothes were wet, it was difficult to dry them again, and when worn out, impossible to renew them. Shelly heard my excuses with pity, but did not see into the long train of evils connected with this violation of propriety: nor knew that my conscience, while I spoke, condemned the excuses with which I had softened his severity. In truth, the various temptations to which, till now, I had been an entire stranger, were too pleasing to the inclinations and suitable to the taste of a young man of twenty-five.

Unhappily, as the companion of the chiefs, I was constantly exposed to temptation, being present at every alluring scene.

He that indulges an evil imagination with amusements that tend to pollute the heart, will soon be seduced into criminality. No wonder, then, that the voluptuous attractions of several objects, thus daily presented to me, should in time allure me into the paths of vice.

It was not long after I had begun to imitate the dress and manners of the natives, and join their amusements, before Mulkaamair, the chief with whom I lodged, persuaded me to take a wife, a near relation of his. My conscience loudly cautioned me, not to be guilty of the sin of cohabiting with a woman without the sanction of marriage, and of taking a wife who was a heathen, and perfectly destitute of every mental, as well as religious endowment; who would most probably lead me still farther from the right way. But all these reasonings my evil inclinations soon taught me to refute or silence. "Mulkaamair was my chief friend, and regarded me with parental affection. I should gratify, honour, and in some measure, repay him for his kindnesses, by taking a relation of his for my wife; and thus also strengthen my interests with the rest of the natives, by forming an alliance with them." Pleased with these considerations, I consented. He sent for her: she agreed, and came, modestly dressed in her best apparel, at the head of a number of women; one of whom took her by the hand, and, leading her to me, seated her by my side. She was a handsome girl of the age of eighteen. Mulkaamair entertained the large company assembled on the occasion, with a plenteous feast, and they danced and sung till a late hour.

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My marriage, which for a time rendered me very happy, threw down every barrier of restraint, which hitherto conscience had opposed to my inclinations, and opened the door to every indulgence. I lament to say, that I now entered, with the utmost eagerness, into every pleasure and entertainment of the natives; and endeavoured to forget that I was once called a christian, and had left a christian land to evangelize the heathen. Into such excesses is man ready to run when once he has violated his conscience, and given way to temptation.

much more promising remained, the few Missionaries that could be found might have first been sent to these; hence, after a time, approved veterans might have been spared to go, and preach the gospel of purity in scenes so corrupt! 000

Considering all these obstacles, it must be a great satisfaction to the promoters of the South-Sea Mission, to be assured from one who has to condemn himself, and who remained at Tongataboo after all the brethren left it, that no other of the Missionaries whom he accompanied thither, acted unbecoming their sacred character. Living in companies, in a habitation of their own, or residing with a brother Missionary, in the Fallee, or mansion of a chief, they were a mutual help to each other against the influence of temptation; whilst the subject of this narrative, standing alone, proved too weak to stem the strong torrent of surrounding corruption. 175 197

Nevertheless, the great purpose of our Mission, the conversion of the natives, would, I am persuaded, have been far more successfully attained, had we settled there with families of our own.

It was very clear to us, soon after we landed in the island, that before we had introduced among our neighbours some of the arts of civilization, we should have little opportunity of instructing them in the knowledge of divine truth.

Our first resolution was to learn the native tongue, and meanwhile to take care, on every occasion, to

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175 show that mildness and humanity, that benevolence
797 and attention to their interests and wants, which might impress them with favourable ideas of our character and religion. We also availed ourselves of every suitable opportunity to perform our daily worship, to sing and pray, when they were present. We endeavoured to impress them with sacred ideas of our sabbath, and invited them to attend our religious services; but informed them we were restrained from shewing them our goods, and from doing any work on that day, because it was "taboo," or sacred; during which time we were "tabooed," or prohibited from all kinds of business.

They behaved with decorum and sobriety while the ordained Ministers among us preached. But so firmly rooted were their superstitious prejudices, so contracted their notions of abstract and spiritual truths, and so confined in expressions the native language, that their attention was attracted by nothing but our singing.

From this circumstance, we took occasion to make them comprehend that we sang hymns and praises to the Deity, because of his great mercy and goodness, and because of his compassion in suffering and dying for us, to deliver us from the greatest misery in the world beyond death, and to bring us to a state of the greatest happiness. We so far succeeded as to excite their curiosity, by informing them we had come so far over the sea, to tell them

175 797 [122] of Him, that they might love and fear him, and attain to his region of happiness. But we found it impossible to interest them in such a manner, as to produce any good effect, till we became familiar in the native tongue.

[609] Whilst making these necessary preparations for their future instruction, we met with the great obstacle of personal danger. Unprotected by the arm of power, in a country where there was no civilization to allay, nor law to restrain the ferment of sudden prejudice; we were obliged to separate for our safety, and to become dependents in the families of different chiefs; where, disjoined from the rest, we could with little success attempt to be general instructors.

000 Here therefore another suggestion may, possibly, be of use to every institution for evangelizing the heathen. Send them to countries where law represses violence, and secures men's persons and property from other dangers, except "persecution for righteousness sake." No authentic record remains that even the Apostles went into a situation like that of these islands. They might indeed go where there were no restraints of law; but we no where read of it. They were in no peculiar danger but from persecutors; we read indeed that St. Paul was "in perils of robbers," but to suffer from depredators, and to need "carnal" defence from them, is peculiar to these missions.

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the same time advance and accompany their improvement in all that is useful to life, and beneficial to good government. 000

But, situated as we were in Tongataboo, our plans for benefiting and evangelizing the natives were broken, before we could act upon them; and as soon as the war burst forth, were completely frustrated and destroyed. Though none but the subject of this narrative, were drawn aside from the great object of converting the heathen, yet they found no sufficiently favourable opportunities to bring their wishes into effect; and in the confusion and alarm that prevailed, when the war surprised them, they had no power for any thing but to provide for their own security. Some of them fled to Lego, the southern side of the Island, and hid themselves in rocks: when a temporary cessation of arms took place, they returned to their districts; whence, when alarmed by a renewal of the war, they fled to the sea-shore, and concealed themselves again in caverns, till the war ceased: they then returned to their habitations till the arrival of a ship, which carried them off. Others who continued at their abode, as will be related in its place, were slain, on the first day of battle, by the enemy when passing their habitation in pursuit of the party which I had joined. 175 797 669

It is probable, had not these disturbances taken place, the Missionaries, when they had attained a 175 797

175 797 knowledge of the language, and an intimacy with the natives, might have met with considerable success. Indeed I was once much inclined to suppose that their prevailing notions respecting a Deity, and the immortality of the soul, (with which I afterwards became acquainted) had already prepared the minds of the natives for the reception of evangelical truth. But as fact evinces, that "the carnal mind," in every place, "is enmity against God," so it would probably have been found that their idolatrous notions, although mixed with some that were true, rather tended to prejudice than prepare the mind for the pure and spiritual doctrines of the gospel. Yet, had the Missionaries been spared, to use the proper means of instruction, the grace of God, it is likely, might have blessed the publication of divine truth among them, as the "word of salvation."

But, as the benevolent endeavours of the Missionary society and its friends were, by this formidable concurrence of obstacles, unhappily frustrated, the glad tidings of salvation through a Redeemer, were only brought to the Friendly Islands; but not published. They were visited by the gospel, but it remained too short a time to be known. When the period will arrive for this part of the "Gentile" world to "be brought in," divine wisdom only 000 knows. Reason seems to dictate that we should first endeavour the conversion of the heathen in those parts of the world where there is civil govern-

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CHAPTER XII.

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THE AUTHOR'S PROSPERITY AT TONGA.

The Brethren reprove him.—Propose to marry him.—He purchases an estate.—Description of his Abbee, or farm of Omotaanee.—His prosperity.—Conduct.—Reflections.

In a short time, my former companions, hearing of my conduct, came to remonstrate with me and reprove me. I received them with coldness. They represented to me, in a strong manner, the iniquity of my conduct, and urged me to look forward to the awful account which I must give of my apostacy at the bar of God. I felt the force of their reproof, and was much alarmed at the enormity of my conduct. The serious impression, however, was but of short duration. I would not consent to desert my wife.

My countrymen, at length, in hopes of reclaiming me to the paths of morality, if not of piety, judged it best to marry me to the woman with whom I cohabited. I consented; and on a day appointed, we both went to Aheefo, where we first settled, and where four of the brethren still resided, to receive from their hands, all that matrimonial sanction of of our union, which they could give.

175 797 We arrived there in the afternoon, and were kindly received by the brethren, and hospitably entertained: they agreed to marry us in the morning. They endeavoured, in a manner perhaps too austere, to impress my wife with a sense of the nature and importance of the matrimonial covenant—that it was a solemn engagement for life, to be faithful to her husband, and that nothing but my death could release her from the bond. When she understood this, she would not consent. They refused therefore to marry us, as such a marriage would be invalid in their native country, by whose laws they were determined to abide; and persuading me it was unlawful to live with her, they obtained my consent to quit her. But they could not prevail upon me to continue with them, as I had not resolution to leave Mulkaamair, to whom I was now particularly attached. I returned to my old chief; but conducted my wife back to her father, with whom I left her.

175 797 425 578 Whilst living with Mulkaamair, I was accustomed to make frequent excursions, sometimes for several days. A favourite daughter of my chief, who had been married, but upon being dismissed by her husband, had returned to live with her father, used often to accompany me, as we were particularly intimate. One day, in company with several others, we met in our excursion, a party who had been fishing. Presuming upon our sanction and autho-

rity as the friends and inmates of Mulkaamair, 175
some of our people began, according to custom, 197
to take some of their fish, as the tribute due to 578
the chief; but they resented the aggression, and mark-
ed out one man as an object for their vengeance. [425]
They furiously attacked him with their clubs, and knocked him down, and soon laid his head open. Some of his brains were[1] scattered on the ground, and on a tree against which he fell. They did not attack the rest of us, nor offer me any injury, as they said "Moolee (or the stranger) has done nothing." Having killed, as they thought, the unfortunate object of their revenge, they hastened away; my party then took up the wounded and almost lifeless man, and bound the parts together: it appeared to me a hopeless case, but so wonderfully does the fine climate of the South-Sea Islands, and the temperance and activity of the natives, conduce to promote and recruit the health of the human frame, that this apparently dead man was able, in a short time, to walk on with us. Upon our return, Mulkaamair sent out a party to attack them, and they fled: but a distant relation of Doogonagaboola having received some injury, the affair threatened to bring on a war; but it was at length amicably adjusted.

Not much time elapsed, before my resolution fail- 175
ed respecting deserting my wife, whom according 197
to the ceremonial rites of Tonga, I thought I had

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[1] [Errata: This should read "appeared to be." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235 --Analyst]

175 regularly espoused; and at my request, Mulkaa-
797 mair sent for her again.

My chief gave us a habitation near his own. Here I brought all I had, and gave her equal possessions with myself. We lived here together, for some time, in much comfort. I daily advanced in the knowledge of the language, and such prospects of success now opened upon me, that I determined to finish my days in Tongataboo.

Ambition of distinction and the desire of wealth now began to excite me to exertion. I employed my thoughts in devising plans to provide a comfortable settlement in the Island, and became very desirous of a portion of land to myself, that by my own industry, I might render myself independent.
175 At this time a neighbouring chief wished to dispose
425 of a tract of land; my chief, Mulkaamair, purcha-
797 sed the estate for me, with a spade, an ax, a small
native canoe, and a couple of knives. This was
435 the whole price given for the purchase of the abbee,
or farm of Omataanee. It contained about fifteen
175 acres, and was separated from the estate of Mulkaa-
797 mair by a lagoon or arm of the sea, a quarter of a
mile across. This I crossed the next day, to enjoy the new delight, never before experienced, of
[361] viewing an estate of my own. With what joy did
[241] I contemplate its little pendent groves of cocoa and
plantain trees, and its smooth lawns, diversified by little habitations, which contained the peaceful

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natives, who now became my subjects and labour- 175
ers to cultivate my fields for their own subsistence
and mine! I visited them, and informed them I 797
wished that they would remain with me; but they [361]
were timid, and appeared unwilling to stay, on ac- [241]
count of the ill usage which other natives had met
with from the Europeans, before mentioned, whom
they served. I encouraged them by kind words
and behaviour, and at length prevailed upon them
to continue with me.

It may appear surprising that an estate so small as 175
fifteen acres should contain the cottages of labour- 361
ers: but it should be considered that Tongataboo 241
was throughout cultivated like a garden, and that
the cocoa-nut and plantain trees, upon a small extent
of ground, were sufficient to support many inhabitants.

My little domain was bounded, on one side, by 175
the channel, before mentioned, which was a quar- 797
ter of a mile across, and separated it from Mooa;
my former residence. I received supplies of provi- [241]
sions from Mulkaamair, and set about the cultiva-
tion of my little territory with all possible dili-
gence: planted cocoa, and plantain trees with the
assistance of my tenants, and hoped, ere long, to eat
of the produce of my own industry.

Omataanee was not far from a fallee, or mansion 175
of Dugonagaboola, the principal chief, at which 643
he occasionally resided. Betwixt him and Mul- [644]
kaamair, there always subsisted a jealousy; for [634]

175 which the reader of the former pages can easily ac-
643 count, from their having been rivals for power.

634 Is was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "fadongyeer,"
175 i. e. to dig, plant, and labour for Dugonagaboola.
643 Sometimes five hundred of these tributary labour-
565 ers were at work, at the same time, on his estate.
651 That no offence might be given, I applied to him
466 to excuse my services. He laughed heartily at the
[797] idea of my thinking to fadongyeer for him, as he
[829] considered me, he said, a chief like himself.

My labourers finding they had only my estate to
175 attend to, were much gratified, found their work
797 easy, and performed it with cheerfulness. Choosing a pleasant spot, at one corner of my abbee, I built myself a fallee, or habitation, and made a plantation round it, of plantain, bread-fruit, and cocoa trees. From my fallee, I made a sandy gravel walk, six feet in breadth, and about two hundred yards in length, through the abbee to the high road, which ran along one end of it; and planted it on each side with sugar canes.

In about half a year, my plantation began to flourish, and was the object of general admiration, and obtained for me much respect and attention. The young men, as they passed, would ask, "Whose abbee is this?" Others would reply, "Tongatta pappa langee," "It belongs to the man from the sky," or "Moola." "it is the stranger's." As I walked through my plantations, or in the neighbourhood, the people would say, "Oyewa, pappalangee goohou," "well see, the man from the sky is coming."

The freedom from taxation, or fadongyeer, granted to my abbee, its increasing beauty, and fertility, and the ease which my tenants enjoyed, attracted numbers to it; so that, though I made additions to it, by the permission of the chiefs, as will be afterwards mentioned, I soon had as many labourers as I needed, and was obliged to refuse several, who were desirous of living with me.

Having brought my abbee into good cultivation, and constructed a comfortable fallee or habitation, I fetched my wife to reside with me, whom, during this time, I often went to visit. We lived very comfortably together, but had no children.

As my prosperity and consequence, however, advanced, my depravity gathered strength, and I began more generally to adopt the corrupt customs of the natives, and, like them, increased the number of my wives.

It might show the extent of depravity, to which man may go, however convinced he may be of the difference between good and evil, where human laws do not bridle his corrupt affections, and the grace of God does not restrain them, were I more minutely to detail the lengths of iniquity, into which general custom and "an evil heart" by degrees

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175 seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.
797 For the same reason, though it might serve to
show the gross wickedness of a people, in many respects
generous, humane and friendly; and might
evince their need of that glorious light of christianity,
which modern illuminati would extinguish,
as darkening the light of simple nature, (which,
notwithstanding all the refined speculations of sophistry,
[535] is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) I
forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that
were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances,
and the tumultuous excursions of young men
[836] through the country during the night.* If, notwithstanding
the light of divine truth, and the
regulations of a police, in christian countries, so
many harlots fill the streets of every populous town,
it is not wonderful that "feenetakabous," the name
by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures
are known, should abound in the polluting groves
of Tonga.

175 Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it
[829] should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society
exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable
practises of the Arreoys at Otaheite, they hold in
[839] detestation. They are never guilty of murdering
[847] their children: on the contrary, they have a numerous
[842] offspring, to which they are very much attach-

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* Quædam ignorare sapientis est.

175 ed: nor is adultery, on the part of the wife, pub-
837 lickly allowed here. The severest punishment
[847] might be inflicted on the offender, if discovered, by
[842] the husband. But in Tonga, as in this nominal
[684] christian kingdom, that is often secretly perpetrated,
which is publickly condemned. Great abuses, however, are openly committed: of many of which, I lament to say, that I have often been an eyewitness; yea, joined in the practice of some of them.

000 Let every youth beware of the alluring attractions of sensual objects. When a mind that has been impressed with pious sentiments, once begins to listen to the voice of appetite, and to venture on indulgence, who knows how the spirit of God, when his convictions have been repeatedly checked and resisted, may, at length, be provoked to withdraw them, and to leave the man to "go on frowardly in the way of his heart," till he "commit all iniquity with greediness."*

The illustrious example of the wisest King of Israel proves, that passion is not weakened by indulgence, that the desires of man are never satisfied, that our safety from the dominion of "youthful lusts," is only in our "flight" from them, that to make the tempter flee, we must "resist him sted-

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* An Heathen could say,
Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse.

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CHAPTER XIII.

CUSTOMS OF THE NATIVES, AND THE AUTHOR'S PROSPERITY.

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His visit at Ardeo.—Improvements in fishing.—Hospitality.—Excursion to Arbai.—Marriage of a chief.—Condition of females.—Courtship and marriage of a chief at Tonga.—Returns to Tonga.—Flourishing state of his abbee.—His tranquillity and employments.—Ideas of the Natives respecting the soul.—Their deities.—The Author's conduct.—Secret unhappiness.—External prosperity.

HAPPENING to meet some of the Missionaries, and finding they had some work to perform at their habitation, I offered my assistance, and went to Ardeo; where I helped to plaister their house with a composition of lime, made of burnt coral, mixed up with the fibres of the cocoa-nut, instead of hair. It looked very neat, when finished. Its situation also was very pleasant. It was inclosed with a beautiful garden, which, in some parts was planted with rows of pines, that now flourished luxuriantly; in others with cotton seeds, from which young trees had shot up, and promised to be very produc- 175 797 [339]

175 tive. Some already began to bear: I saw one
797 quite laden with cotton. The three Missionaries residing here, had made a great progress in the language. Bowel, whose abilities were superior to those of Harper or Gaulton, was arranging it in the form of a grammar, and composing a journal, with the intention of sending them to Europe; but this, the sudden war, and their untimely end prevented.

They appeared very happy and united, settled in safety, under the protection of Vahargee, a chief who lived near them.

They faithfully remonstrated with me respecting my conduct, but whatever impression I felt at the time, passed off when I left them. By this time, I had arrived at considerable power and dignity in the Island; and with the assistance of my workmen, built a small canoe, which would carry eight or ten men.

My acquaintance with the chiefs much increased; and as I had received every kind of attention from them, I prepared to return their kindnesses; and laid in provisions to entertain them. I bought a stock of pigs, and took great care to increase them; that there might always be in readiness a sufficient number to kill for the use of my friends, as occasion might require. I grew also some kava-root.

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I wished to have my little abbee as complete as 175
possible; and therefore gave my workman[1] all the 197
encouragement in my power; joined them in their
labours, and fared the same as they did.

In the course of nine or ten months we began
to gather the fruits of our labours. We had plenti-
ful crops of plantains and tarros. The tarro is a 197
root resembling a carrot, which puts forth many
shoots, that strike downwards for six or eight inches,
by which the root is distended like the turnip till it
measures twelve inches in circumference; the top
of it, like that of the pine, will grow again when set.
The roots soon spread over a large space, and when
scraped and baked, are very pleasant and nutritious.
Having a good supply of vegetable food, I was de- 175
sirous of varying and improving it with fish: and 197
therefore set upon contriving some expeditious
mode of catching them, and at length improved 226
upon the method of fishing at Tonga, by pursuing
it upon a larger scale.

For this purpose, with the assistance of a num- 175
ber of men, I stripped off the inner bark of trees; 197
and, splitting it into fibres, twisted them into a large 226
"moya" or rope, which when drawn out extended a
full mile. Procuring then a large quantity of the 283
branches of the cocoa-nut tree, and stripping of the
peel, together with the leaves, we wrapped it round
the rope, in such a manner that the leaves formed
a fringe round it. This they called "Ooloa" or a
fishing rope.

[1] [Errata: this should read "workmen."
Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235
--Analyst]

175 797 226 We then put parts of the Ooloa into several canoes, and rowing together to a considerable distance from shore, two divisions of canoes were formed, and each division took opposite ends of a piece of rope; and separating rowed off in different directions, lengthening the Ooloa as we receded from each other, with other parts of the rope in the canoes, till we came to the full extent of it; when both divisions turned round, and rowed towards the shore, in an inclining direction, till they met, when the Ooloa encircled a large space of water. Upon approaching the reef, a number of men got out of the canoes, and pulled the rope together towards the shore; and gradually drew it up in order to lessen the circle. The fish did not offer to jump over or dive under, but swam round the circle, as to avoid the rope, which tuffed[1] with leaves, as before mentioned, swept the water with a rustling noise. As they approached the shore, and the circle became more contracted, the men ran the nets round the Ooloa, or rope, and at length, the circle was so diminished, that the fish were forced into the bags of the surrounding nets, where they were secured, till the tide went down. The fibres of the cocoa-nut are so strong as to be capable of sustaining an immense weight. The nets therefore were unbroken when the tide went down; although they had inclosed a number of large fishes, sufficiently great to fill, by this one draft, a canoe that would contain eighty

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[1] [Errata: This should read "tufted." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

men. But this large quantity of fishes was of no 175
private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though 797
there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, [226]
where a person has much, for numbers to flock
to him; and it would be looked upon as contrary 175
to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my 797
door, or at the entrance of my abbee with my attendants, 574
and eating, and a stranger passed, he
would come and sit himself down by me, without
ceremony, and expect a meal with me. In a scarce [261]
season, numbers resorted to me for my yams; and
it would have been a transgression of the laws of
hospitality to have refused them, as long as they
lasted. We had an abundance of customers for our
fish, therefore, in a short time. Yet I had sufficient
left to send large presents to different chiefs, and to
take an ample quantity home.

I continued my fishing, in this manner, as long 175
as my fringed rope and nets of cocoa-fibres lasted; 797
but the weather, after a time, rotted them, and as
my abbee now produced me an abundant variety
of good and pleasant food, I never made another
Ooloa.

My intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and I generally made one of their party, both on business and recreation.

The chief, near whom I lived, had a brother at 175
Arbai, a cluster of islands at no great distance, 797
composed of Anamooka and other islands; and as 484

175 his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he
797 invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with
484 the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe, which I had built, with the assistance of my workmen, for the voyage.

I was much entertained in the tour, and joined
175 the natives in all their amusements. The chief,
797 whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person,
584 whom he wished I would do him the honour to
[581] marry, that he might be related to me. She was a fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial ceremony, which often takes place, like the jewish espousal, years before the consummation of the nuptials.

175 The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at this time, in a grand marriage, between Dugona-
644 gaboola, and the daughter of a chief of Arbai.
585 To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival, we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight, to provide for the festivities of his approaching wedding. By this time, a large store of provisions was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c.; all which, on the bridal morn, were brought in regular order before the chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented to him.

The bride, a fine woman of twenty three years of 175
age, came soon after, at the head of three hundred 644
women, who followed her in procession. Her dress 585
was modest and elegant. A thin vest, neatly crimp- [292]
ed, of a dark colour, which shewed her complexion to advantage, was fastened under her arms, and hung down to her waist, where it was bound close, by a skirt, riched with flowery ornaments of matting.

She walked at the distance of two or three paces [201]
before them; her carriage was graceful and majestic, yet modest, her eyes cast down with that diffident coyness and decorous timidity, which, notwithstanding the audacity of the age, so often heightens the charms of the daughters of Britain.

As she entered the green before the fallee, or habitation, where the guests were all seated in comely rank and order, a female advanced from the company and taking her respectfully by the hand conducted her to her husband, and gracefully seated her by his side. The attendants then retired from her, and seated themselves in order with the guests, leaving the bride and bridegroom in a little space by themselves. The provisions were then plentifully distributed. After the repast, the bridegroom rose, advanced to the shore, and went on board the canoe. The three hundred women that attended her rose up after him, conducted the bride, in a procession to the shore, and four of them handed

175 her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the
644 side of her husband. She then took leave of them.
585 I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung
down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and
175 gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four
357 attendants remained with her[1] till the canoe was
rowing off. They had been with her from her
644 birth till this moment; when they resigned their
charge to four others, who were to be the same
guardians of her fidelity as the former had been of
175 her virginity. It is the custom through life, thus
565 carefully to keep the daughters of the principal
chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one
836 or two of these attendants, night and day. The
[302] young women indeed pride themselves much upon
their virginity, which they call taihenee: and as
the token and ornament of that state, their hair is
suffered to remain uncut till their marriage.
175 Whether this distinction which is here properly con-
585 sidered the virgin's "glory," is then laid aside, because her honor then becomes inseparable from that
of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that
they have only one word to express both husband
and wife, viz. "Oanna," as though the union was
so intimate that even language could not refer to the
one without including the other.

175 As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he
837 provides a similar guard to preserve her so. For, unchastity is considered of so little account at Tonga,

[1] [i.e. the bride of the Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

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that though the husband might severely punish an 175
offender, if discovered, yet they are frequently guilty 837
of it in secret. The principal chiefs, therefore, have 565
their wives guarded by elderly women, and O that the influence of bad example may never make a Briton regret the want of such a precaution in his own land.

Before I leave this subject, I will venture an an- 175
achronism, by relating the process of a courtship at 584
Tonga, as I witnessed it upon my return, till it closed in the marriage of the parties.

A chief had conceived an affection for the daughter of a neighbouring chief, in Tongataboo. His intention was made known to the parents by a present of provisions, which was brought while I was with them, by a messenger, who at the same time communicated his master's wishes to marry their daughter. The parents received the proposal with indifference, as though not desirous of an alliance with them. The agent urged his suit, but could not prevail upon them to accept of the present. This was an indication of not consenting to the match; and the man returned with his present. The next day, he came with an address still more urgent, and a present of provision more abundant. This was also rejected. On the third application, however, the parents yielded to the solicitations of this petty envoy, and accepted of his present; which was the sign of their consent. They then commu-

175 nicated the affair to the daughter, who consented
584 to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not
in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by
the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal
on the part of the daughter, is unknown at Tonga-
[586] taboo. This, however, is deemed no hardship there,
[837] where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some
power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life,
seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of
an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirm-
ed by laws human and divine, is justly considered
an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fideli-
ty, the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be
destroyed by the least contamination.

175 Preparations were then made for the nuptials.
585 The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was
introduced to him at the head of the same ceremo-
nious procession described above, only in the lat-
ter part of the day. Almost the whole district was
collected together to celebrate the marriage, and
partook plenteously of the provisions collected for
[535] the occasion. At the close of the festival, the atten-
dant women took the modest bride, who was seat-
ed by the side of her husband, by the hand, and
gracefully conducted her in procession through the
range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the
occasion: to which he also soon retired; whilst
the numerous visitors spent the night in entertain-
ments and dances.

These dances were performed with admirable 175
skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the 535
body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, 585
which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy: which terminated only with the dawn.

After amusing ourselves for many days, on this 175
Island, and receiving the most friendly attentions 797
from the chiefs, Mulkaamair's son fixed a period 404
for our return; and a number of canoes assembled to accompany us.

At day-break, we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or [501]
seven miles in an hour, and brought us to the shores of Tonga, in the evening; where we all repaired to our respective districts.

I was charmed on my return, with the flourish- 175
ing appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, 241
cocoa, and plantain trees had already shot forth [797]
branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms, for years, near the spot where I built my fallee; and now their fruits hung in clus-

175 ters amongst the branches; some as large as a boy's
241 head, full grown, and exuding a gum; others turned
yellow, through ripeness, and the gum dried up.
175 These fruits[1], when cut into four parts, and baked
262 like potatoes in the fire, in a kind of oven, formed a
[252] good substitute for bread, while the ripe cocoa-nuts
supplied me with both meat and drink of a delicious
flavour, and the plantains furnished me with
175 a refreshing desert after dinner. The oven which
252 they use, is a hole dug in the ground, the sides obliquely
sloped. In this they kindle a fire, on which they place some stones; as soon as these are red hot, they draw the burnt sticks from under them, and, spreading the stones, place their provisions on them. They then lay some sticks prepared for the purpose across the hole to keep it hollow, and cover them with plantain and other broad and long leaves; on which they heap grass and sods, to confine the heat. In this manner their provisions are cooked in the course of half an hour. I have seen a pig of the weight of fourteen or sixteen stone sufficiently baked in one of these ovens, in the space of four hours.

175 The rows of sugar canes which I had planted
on each side the path, leading to the high road, had
797 shot up to the height of eight or ten feet; and now
241 they embowered and entwined themselves so as to
249 form a shady walk. I had improved upon the
method of planting them, usual with the natives,

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[1] [i.e. breadfruit--Analyst]

They cut the stalk of a cane into two or three pieces, 175
and planted them nearly upright in the ground; 197
these shot forth stems at the lower knots, but decayed 241
at the top. I planted them lengthways, in 249
furrows, and thus succeeded in obtaining suckers
from every knot.

By this expedient, my plantation of canes so increased
after a time, that I had abundance for my
own use, and for presents to my friends. My little 175
farm was a garden throughout. Many came to 197
offer themselves for workmen, as my land was free 241
from the "fadongyeer," or tax on labour, and my [464]
labourers met with kind treatment. I willingly received [651]
them, as I took much pleasure in agriculture; and the chiefs perceiving my industry and success, and entertaining a friendship for me, gave me permission to cultivate lots of land adjoining to my own; and, ere long, I purchased some fields bordering upon my abbee, so that at last, it comprised fifty acres; and my own household sometimes contained no less than thirty persons. So great was the fertility of my abbee, that I had yams, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, in such abundance, that even in the *hungry season*, or time of scarcity, after making liberal presents to my neighbours, and feasting my own family with daily plenty, the fruits
were left to drop off the trees. I mention this cir- 175
cumstance, also, to show the honesty of the natives, 685
and their regard for strangers. Though they thought [829]

175 it rather a commendable dexterity, than a crime,
685 to rob European articles, because so rare and valua-
[829] ble, yet they would not plunder the plantation of ano-
ther, especially that of a stranger. Many of the natives
[795] around who were pressed with want, came to beg
the fruits of my estate. The abbee was robbed how-
ever but once, and that was by one man of the low-
[694] est order. He was detected by some other natives,
who with great dexterity, discovered that he was
the person who had stolen some pines and plantains
from my abbee, by bringing the fruits to the trees,
from which they had been robbed, and fitting them
to the branches where they had been broken off.
So great is their severity against a plunderer of the
plantations, that they would have put him to death,
had not I interposed: but they would not be satis-
fied without tying him up and flogging him.

175 The umbrageous walk, which my thick-set hedge
797 of canes soon formed, was the admiration of all who
saw it. It was my pleasure to trim my little shrub-
bery, and keep it clean and neat; and its delicious
fruits and cooling shade, amply repaid me for my
trouble. When wearied with labour, in my fields,
I found great refreshment in walking or reclining in
my embowering harbour of canes, and sucking the
juicy sugar they contained. I used to break off a
cane at the root, snap it into two or three parts, and,
stripping down the cane, suck the pith which was
saturated with the sweet juice.

The cane when grown to perfection was as thick 175
as four fingers; but the chiefs were so fond of it, 262
that they would not refrain from eating it till it arrived at maturity. It was a common amusement with them, to chew it for hours together.

I much enjoyed my embowering walk of canes. 175
I wish I could say, that while I sat under its shadow 797
with great delight, and its "fruit was sweet to my taste," I had meditated with a grateful heart on Him, of whom these words imply, that his favour refreshes the wearied soul, and his "word is sweeter than the precious cane."

While I enjoyed, under the shade of my fruitful trees, a pleasant tranquillity, in the simplicity of nature, had I endeavoured to direct the minds of the natives, who visited me, or my own household, to the glorious parent of good, and to his blessed Son, the restorer of eden's lost bliss, my present reflections would fill me with delight instead of shame. But alas, I now needed instruction and reproof myself! I had so much imbibed the spirit of the natives, and joined their practises, that I never attempted to teach and improve them; or else, in a household of twenty, and sometimes of thirty people, who lived in my habitation, as my attendants and workmen, I might have done much good. But I thought of nothing but employing them for my service, in the labours of the day, or for my amusement in the diversions of the evening.

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175 Yet there were times, when ideas were thrown 175 out, by the natives, respecting the immortality of the soul, which much surprised and abashed me. One day, I recollect, they were conversing about a person that was lately dead: they said to each other, "he goes to the island through the sky," an expression by which they denoted a place very far off, as beyond the horizon, where the sky appeared to [124] touch the earth. Wishing to know their sentiments upon this subject, I pretended ignorance and disbelief. "How can he be, said I, in that place, when he is dead, and his body is here? Did you not bury him some *moons* ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one endeavouring to make me understand what he meant, took hold of my hand, and squeezing it, said, "Goomaogge hen, mooe hekai maogge." This will die, but the life that is within you will never die," with his other hand pointing to my heart.

This sentiment expressed on such an occasion so unexpectedly, with such animation and by a young man with whom I was particularly intimate, deeply impressed me. No circumstance more affected my mind during the whole of my continuance in the South-Sea Islands. Such a conviction of the immortality of the soul, expressed by a simple untutored heathen, defies, thought I, all the arguments of presumptuous philosophers, and infidel libertines.

I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to 175
be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more
information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of 775
knowledge on the subject. But I could get nothing 124
further from them. Whatever notions they
might have, I conceived the poverty of their language
prevented their explaining them upon points
so abstract.

And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits 175
of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give
them proper instruction; nay, I wished to forget 777
it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue,
and harden the heart against attempting to do
any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and
powerfully impel us to depart still farther from
God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

Afterwards however in conversation with some 175
of the chiefs I discovered that they had more precise 775
ideas on a subject of which the commonalty [565]
had only confused and indistinct notions. They
supposed that their souls immediately after the death [184]
of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far [776]
distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind
of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed
inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure,
under the protection and favour of the god Fliggolayo,[1]
who had supreme power over all other
Deities, and warded off from his subjects the attempts
of all that would molest or injury them. In- [565]

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[1] [Errata: this should read Higgolayo. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 to this region, however, they believed none were
775 admitted but the chiefs: the tooa, or lower class,
565 therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, and darkness."

175 All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for
776 a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored
782 his blessing, when they set their yams, and express-
[643] ed their gratitude to him, when they gathered them, by offerings to Duatonga the priest who personated him and interceded for them. Each district also called upon its appropriate God, and each change in the elements summoned them to address its pe-
175 culiar divinity. Was there a storm? They called
776 on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the
782 goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain,
821 or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer, the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the
175 Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake?
776 They cried out to Mowe, a giant who, they sup-
782 posed, supported the island on his shoulders. An
829 instance of this occurred not many months after we had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down about 10 o'clock, after our evening service, to rest; when we were alarmed by a considerable shock: but our alarm was much increased, immediately after, by an universal shout of all the natives within hearing, in every direction. The next day we

inquired into the cause of the uproar; and they 175
told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that 776
the island had been shaken, because the giant mowe, 782
who supported it upon his shoulders, was become
weary with his burden, and was beginning to fall 823
asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition; but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

They supposed also that every man had an odooa 175
or particular spirit attending him; and when any 776
thing wonderful excited their attention respecting
us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our
cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye awa koo
odooa fogee!" "O dear, he has a spirit!" The [784]
odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they [161]

175 suppose, over every one, sends afflictions and maladies
776 if he is angry, and when irreconcileable, occasions
the death of the person. It is to render him propi-
784 tious that the relations so often wound themselves,
761 and sometimes put some of the sick persons' wives or
782 domestics to death.

By this time, having become very fluent in the
175 language, I extended my acquaintance, and was
797 the companion of the chiefs in most of their expe-
123 ditions and excursions. They much respected me,
and esteemed me as a very entertaining compa-
nion; as I could now, with a ready familiarity of
language, amuse them with tales and descriptions
of European customs, inventions, and events; and
understand their remarks and tales in answer. I
had it now in my power also to entertain large par-
ties in return, and had learned to join in their
amusements with too great facility and pleasure.

I took pains also to endear myself to the chiefs
by timeing my presents, and presenting them in the
most approved and acceptable manner. My abbee
being in a high state of cultivation, in the scarcest
seasons abounded with fruits, and probably it would
have been a chief source of supply to Mulkaamair.
175 When scarcity desolated the country around, ripe
797 plantains bended the branches of my trees, of which
123 I would cut twenty branches and send them as a
431 present to Mulkaamair, borne on the shoulders of
forty men. This was the etiquette of Tonga: the
482

175 manner of doing it rendered the present doubly
797 valuable, and no present could be more acceptable
123
431 and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plan-
482 tains more than all other fruits.

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634 Though he was pleased with the presents sent him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented
431 him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even
[731] though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly
[829] supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and sent it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This[1] manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

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* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed, five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

[1] [Erratum: this should read His. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst.]

175 694 431 er, whilst I had only to beckon assent, without any expression of obligation or thanks. When they had departed, the servants would set it before me, and I ordered it to be dressed for the household. When it was ready, perhaps several persons in the neighbourhood would come in to partake of it, as was generally the custom at Tonga.

175 797 But amid all these interchanges of ease and indulgence, employment, and amusement, I could not prevent the intrusion of uneasy reflections. I enjoyed no true peace and happiness, my dereliction of all religion often so pained my conscience as to render me a burden to myself. So true is the declaration of the inspired oracles, "There is no peace to the wicked.*"

Whilst proceeding in this career, however, I daily advanced in wealth and dignity. Ere long I purchased more land contiguous to Omotaanee, till my little abbee became a considerable estate. I engaged more labourers to cultivate my fields, and

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men, to revenge the churlishness and insults of her husband Nabal, shows that the manners of the South-Sea Islanders are very similar to those of the ancients. Falling at his feet, she said,—" And now this blessing which thine handmaid hath brought my lord, let it even *be given unto the young men that follow my Lord.* 1 Sam. 25. xxvii.

* Even an heathen could say, " Nec secura quies, sontes, similisque sopori Detinet innocui estote, numen adest."[1]
Ovid.

[1] [Errata: these lines ought to be in poetic form. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

was very industrious in planting, dressing and clean- 175
ing them. I increased in favour with the chiefs,
who esteemed me as a man of deligence and skill; [197]
and in time, I should, it is probable, have become [129]
as wealthy as many of the chiefs; as my land was [651]
very productive, and freed from the fadangyeer, or
tax on labour, described above, which was a great
burden to every other estate.

But now an event took place, which swept away all my prospects of greatness;—but was eventually the means of my merciful restoration to my country, and what was much more, to my God.

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CHAPTER XIV.

WAR AT TONGA AND THE FATE OF THE MISSIONARIES.

Offering of the first fruits.—Reverence paid to the Priest of the Island.—Conspiracy.—Dugonagaboola slain by Loogolala.—Engagement at Akogger.—Arrival at the abode of the Missionaries.—Alarmed by the enemy.—Engagement during the whole day.—Mulkaamair slain.—Pursued by the enemy to Ardeo.—All the Brethren there killed.—Enemy routed at the seashore.—Humanity to an old Chief.

175 THREE years had now elapsed since my settlement
669 in the island, and my prosperity had arrived at its
height, when a conspiracy was formed among the
175 natives. It was the time of making the yearly offering
643 to Duatonga, which was called natche. He
[651] was the high priest of the island, and on this occasion
was superior to every one, even to Dugonagaboola himself, as he was descended from the family, who were thought originally to have come from the sky.

Duatonga, as the priest of all the islands, and their mediator to converse with the Deity, and insure them plenty, was greatly reverenced throughout the island, and supported in splendour and dignity by the contributions of the different districts, as well as by the productions of his own ample estate. So that like the ancient priests of Egypt, he was a prince as well as priest; and he received greater homage than even the principal chief, or Dugonagaboola himself. If he was journeying, no native dared to walk or stand while he remained in sight; every one—man, woman, or child, instantly uncovered to the stomach and sat down, and crossed his hands and legs, and remained in this posture till he had passed by. 175 643 [516] [576]

The period of the annual oblation being arrived, all the chiefs from the Arbai Navou[1] and all the other neighbouring isles, as well as the chiefs of Tonga, assembled together at moon in the fallee or mansion of Duatonga, to present him with their first ripe yams and other first fruits of their fields; a custom, which, however remote the island, seems derived from original tradition, as it resembled the offerings of Abel and Noah, and the other Patriarchs, and which were perpetuated in the Mosaic dispensation. On this occasion, Duatonga personated the Deity of their fields, who they supposed caused them to be fruitful. They paid him the homage due to him whom he represented. With the fruits 175 651

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[1] [Errata: this should read Vavou. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 in their hands, the chiefs, arrayed in various dresses,
651 which distinguished the districts over which they
presided, reverently approached him in regular rotation,
in a slow, solemn pace, with a kind of monotous[1]
song; and upon their bended knees, presented
the first productions of their abbees. They then
rose up and passed off in the same order, and with
the same solemnity.

175 When the ceremony of offering the first fruits of
535 their fields is completed, they usually have a dance,
and often fight with branches of the cocoa-trees,
175 before they return to their respective districts. In
669 appearance they all did so on this occasion; but a
[643] plot had been formed for assassinating Dugonagaboola
[634] and making Mulkaamair supreme chief. This
was planned by one Loogolala, a chief of Tongataboo,
who had attached to himself a number of enterprising
young men, through whose assistance he was
much advancing in wealth and power. Mulkaamair
175 was his distant relation. To make their design
669 more secret, his two canoes which were large
726 and filled with his fellow conspirators, set off as
though they were going away, but waited off the
reef, at Ahogge, till evening; when they returned,
by land, to Mooa; where Dugonagaboola continued
that night, as well as Mulkaamair and his party.
As soon as they arrived, they proceeded to station
an armed watch in every road leading to and from
the residence of Dugonagaboola; that none might

[1] [Errata: this should read monotonous. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

be allowed to pass or repass to excite any alarm. 175
Having placed every thing in a state of preparation,
a chosen band proceeded in search of the spot 669
where Dugonagaboola slept. They founed all his 726
attendants asleep, but were afraid to slay any one,
lest they should mistake the person of the chief and
give the alarm. At length he was betrayed by the 175
perfumeded oil on his head. This oil is scented 303
with wood brought from the Feejee islands, not far [439]
distant from Tonga. The wood is rubbed or scraped
into a kind of saw-dust, with a rough fish-skin;
with this the oil is mixed, and strained, and then it
possesses a strong perfume. This is used only by the [302]
principal chief. Discovering him by this distinction, [565]
they murdered him, and seven or eight of his 175
attendants. This gave the alarm, and the rest fled; 669
but as every road was beset, many of them were 726
killed also. The conspirators then proceeded down
to the water, and seizing as many canoes as they
needed, broke all the rest, to secure themselves from
being pursued during the night.

By the next morning, the alarm was spread through great part of the Island, and multitudes flocked to Mulkaamair with the particular friends of Dugonagaboola, to inquire into the cause of the outrage, and to rouse him to revenge the death of the chief, on Loogolala. The people of Aheefo, which was the particular district of Dugonagaboola, warmly took up the cause of their chief; and hasti-

175 ly repaired to Mulkaamair, to fight for it, under his
669 standard.

726 Loogolala, mean while, with his forces, continued at Ahogge, to prepare for battle in the place of the greatest hostility. The enemy, from Aheefo, dared not follow him by sea, on account of the inferiority of their fleet in number and skill. They hastened therefore by land, and met him, just as he had disembarked with his men. Loogolala and his party, all young and unfatigued, and elated with the spirit of enterprise, attacked them with a vigour which they could not withstand. They fled, and Loogolala returned to the canoes, and sailed off for Arbai, to strengthen his cause by an addition of troops.

In three days he returned with ten sail of canoes, and a considerable number of men, many of whom expected that they had come to fight for the cause of Dugonagaboola, who had formed an alliance with them by marriage, not long before, as described above. By this time all the districts were in arms, and thousands were ranged under the standard of Mulkaamair; but to the astonishment of all, a coalition was formed between Mulkaamair and Loogolala, to fight for their own cause, against that of the murdered Dugonagaboola.

The friends of Dugonagaboola instantly deserted, and fled to Aheefo. Meanwhile, Mulkaamair was joined by the three districts of Ahogge, Mooa, and Ardeo.

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Mulkaamair, who was the commander in chief, 175
assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugona- 669
gaboola had been assassinated. They were array- 726
ed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some [114]
with only the maro, with black faces and disfigur-
ed limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied
together, rising from the crown of the head, like a
soldiers cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment 175
to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party. 669
I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of 726
seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteem- 197
ed their warfare mere child's play. It was deter- [123]
mined to proceed against the district of Aheefo,
which was small in comparison of the rest; and to
make an attack upon it at the same time, both by
land and sea, with all our forces. The next morn- [202]
ing therefore, the conchshells blew the alarm of
battle, and thousands* repaired to the standard—
Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal
army, of which I was one, marched forward about
seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardeo—the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved companions, but

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* The author may possibly appear to exaggerate the numbers; but it should be remembered that it being the time of the natche, or annual festival or offering of the first fruits—many natives of the surrounding islands, were collected together at Tongataboo.

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175 now the objects whom I shunned. They were
669 on our side, and there the chief halted and took
726 some refreshment. I saw them, but as they were
797 in their European dress, and I had only the maro
round my loins, I was ashamed to face them. Conscience, at this time, smote me for my apostacy, and whispered "Battle and danger are at hand and you may be slain: what account can you give before the bar of God; repent and join your companions again, seek the pardon which you need, and return to the way of holiness which you have forsaken." Had I yielded to these suggestions, I might have stayed behind with them; as the natives forced none to battle at Tonga. But I was desirous of accompanying the warriors. I burned for the fight, and pressed forwards to the first ranks. As we were a great multitude, and far superior in numbers to the enemy, we thought ourselves sure of victory. We proceeded, with my old chief Mulkaamair in the centre; but with no order, nor under any command of inferior officers. At length Mulkaamair halted to encamp for the night. A division went forwards to meet the enemy. For fear I should not witness the battle, I marched forward with them, till night came on, when I entered a hut, while many lay under the trees and slept. As soon as the morning dawned, we were alarmed by a cry of "Kotow gohow" "the enemy is upon

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us." We rose, and in truth, part of the enemy 175
had arrived, and had passed us; and another body 669
was hastening to attack us. The former division 726
might have murdered us all; but they wished to 797
push forwards, and penetrate through the ranks to Mulkaamair, in order, to extinguish the war by slaying him who had occasioned it. For this purpose, they had silently stolen by in a single file, in which each man took hold of the maro of him that preceded him, and trod in his steps. We had [1096]
scarcely got out of the hut, when I saw the enemy at no great distance, in a large straggling body, hastening towards us and exclaiming "tow, tow," "war, war," Tow has several correspondent significations,—as an armed body of men, and war, which is the case with many of their words, which, derived from simple roots serve to express all the objects to which these primitive words apply.*

Immediately as I saw the enemy, I hastened forward to the first ranks, to see how they acted. A person who knew me, ran after me, and pulled me back by my maro, saying "Hoee ge hen" "come here, you do not know your danger." I retired, and

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* In the derivation of words from simple radicals, the remarkable similarity subsisting between this, and all simple languages, and the Hebrew, that original language of man, might supply matter for much amusing speculation.

775 discovered that there were many of the enemy with
669 bows and arrows, with which they might have
726 pierced me, if I had continued where I was. Still,
799 curiosity overcame fear, and I pressed forward again,
to join those in the front. Just then I saw Mul-
[713] kaamair's son before me, engaged in fight with a
stout man: I was running to his assistance, but, that instant, he struck off the head of his antagonist with a scythe that I had formerly given him, which he had made into an immense sword, by driving the blade into the handle which he had shortened into a hilt. Instead of standing upon his defence against the enemy, who were coming on in a determined manner, as resolved to conquer or die, he stuck the point of his sword into the head of the man he had killed, and ran back in triumph. Though far superior to them in number, my heart began to fail me for our party, when I noticed the irregular manner in which they engaged the enemy. These advanced, while we already began to draw back. Several of our chiefs fell, and the rest began to give way. The enemy then made a grand push; but as we were so numerous the fugitives only fell back upon the rear, which still kept their ground and prevented their flight. Unable to resist or escape, the front ranks fell. It was with difficulty I pressed through to the rear, where I took to my heels with all the speed that fear administered, and did

not look behind till I had run a full quarter of a 175
mile. We were all thrown into a a[1] panick, and confusion; 669
we lost the power of resistance, and numbers 726
were slaughtered. I fell into a hole and sprained 797
my leg. I was terribly alarmed, and thought I
must have fallen a sacrifice to the enemy. But I
exerted all my force, and limped forwards as fast as
possible. The pain and weakness of my leg, however,
was such an obstruction, that my spirits sank
within me, and I began almost to despair. I heard
the enemy not far behind me, and expected the
spear, the club or the boggebogge, every moment,
to strike my back. The boggeebogge was an instrument [713]
of war somewhat like a sword, but round
at the top, made of very hard wood with two edges
but very thick in the middle to give it weight and
strength.

The fear of these tremendous weapons roused me to exert all my strength, and to keep out of their reach. I took care in future battles, not to spring forward to the first ranks, and to run away in time. I found their wars were too terrible for the mere gratification of curiosity—that their instruments wielded with such strength and dexterity, were an overmatch for me, and that such an undisciplined volunteer as I was, would soon be speared. At length, we made a stand, and the enemy halted. Many came up with us, and fell back into the rear, wounded. Among them was a respectable chief of Ar-

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[1] [Errata: the second a should be deleted. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 deo. He had received three or four wounds in the
669 head, before he would retreat. Some, like this chief,
726 were very courageous and fearless of death: others
747 were timid and cautious.

After we had faced about, our spirits a little revived, and we slowly retreated back, till we repassed the road, in which Mulkaamair had pitched his tents. But the object of the enemy was thus unfortunately accomplished: for, leaving a few to keep us employed, the rest hastened down the road, to reinforce their companions, who had been engaging Mulkaamair. While we continued fighting, with loss of little ground, but many men, this division kept pouring in their forces, to increase the main body; which so alarmed the party of Mulkaamair, that their spirits sank, and they took to flight in great disorder. Old Mulkaamair was carried on the shoulders of his attendants, on a "Fatta," i. e. two rails tied together and covered with matting. He saw his danger, and endeavoured in every possible way, to rally his forces;—but in vain. At length, the enemy made a grand push, and reached his guards and attendants. These, to the number of eighteen or twenty, were resolved to conquer with him, or to die. They fought with such bravery, that for a time they made the enemy retire; but at last, they all fell, overpowered with numbers. Amongst them were two sons of Mulkaamair, two wives and several relations. They soon seized Mulkaamair, but

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stood over him, in hesitation what to do, till one 175
of the main body that were pursuing his party, 669
came up and said, "kill him;" and, as is common-
ly the effect of a sudden command in a mob, come 726
from whom it may, they at once followed the ad- 797
vice, and put him to death.

They then continued to pursue Mulkaamair's army till they came to Ardeo, where Mulkaamair had halted to take refreshment. When they approached their habitation, the brethren came out to look at them, not expecting that they, who had taken no part in the war, would be molested. But amongst the enemy, arrived one, who had formerly requested some presents of the brethren, and had been refused; this opportunity he barbarously improved, to revenge himself, and directly running to attack them, others readily joined him. They knocked down Harper and Bowel, and an European who was with them, and immediately murdered them. James Gaulton fled; but looking back, and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps, in hopes of saving them, or through grief, or despair; and immediately shared their cruel fate.

My soul was overwhelmed with pity and sorrow, when I heard this sad account from those who had been eyewitnesses to it. Poor young Gaulton! he was very anxious, before the Duff sailed from England, to accompany us: and as an assistant to the Cook was wanting, he offered to undertake the ser-

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175 vice. When we came to the Friendly-Islands, the
669 Captain and the Missionaries, having conceived a
726 high esteem for him, on account of his uniform piety
797 and good conduct, consulted together, and elected him one of our number. He always resided with the brethren, whom he loved as his own soul; and so pleasant had his life been with them, that even "in death" he chose not to be "divided" from them.

[727] The enemy proceeded, when they had murdered the Missionaries, to plunder their habitation. Many articles had been concealed and buried by them, but they searched and found all. They now returned from the pursuit, to rejoin their companions, whom they had left to keep us engaged, while they attacked Mulkaamair. We had routed this force, and pursued them along the road, till to our astonishment, we found numbers of our friends dead on the field of battle; and amongst the rest, we started back with horror to see, weltering in his blood, our beloved chief Mulkaamair, with his attendants! To behold my old and chief friend dead, was a shock that almost deprived me of strength and reason. I gave up all for lost, and was ready almost to lay myself down by his side, and die with him. I cannot describe my sensations at that time; I was all wildness and confusion.

I recollect, however, that looking about in the agony of despair, I saw a young woman with her thigh broken, and leaning her wounded head on a

175 669 726 797 dying man, that sat by her. She stretched out her hand to me, as imploying[1] my help, and groaned with pain. I was stepping towards her to assist her, but at that instant, the enemy appeared, returning from the pursuit, with those whom we had lately discomfited. We all took to flight; but in our way, we met with a division headed by Loogolala, coming by another road from Ardeo, where they had arrived by sea. Instead of facing about, we continued our flight to the sea-shore. This was a manoeuvre of Loogolala, who all the while, laughed, and encouraged us. It was low water, and the sea had left a very extensive beach. We ran along towards the water, pretending to make for our canoes [493] for safety. The enemy pursued us, carrying their chief on a Fatta, i.e. two rails covered with matting.

We then made a stand, and faced about and hastened to attack them. They fled with precipitation, and threw down the old man together with the [554] Fatta, and left him. Taking him prisoner, we found he was a relation of one of our chiefs, who, that he might not seem partial to an enemy, desired they would kill him; but his attendants insisted, that out of respect to himself, his life should be spared. They called therefore to his sons to come and fetch him: and retiring back a little, they suffered them to carry him safely off, without molestation, with a forbearing humanity, that would have reflected honour on the most civilized nation.

[1] [**Erratum: this should read imploring. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst**]

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CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUANCE AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

They renew the war.—Victorious.—Treatment of prisoners and of the dead.—Surprised and routed.—Flee to Attatai.—Ravages.—Barbarity of the children.—Return to Tonga.—Conquer.—Treatment of the captive chiefs.—Of the commonalty.—Tonga submits to Loogolala.—Also Arbai and Vavou.—A triumphant feast.

175 THE first day's battle, which had began with
669 alarm, and had been marked, in its progress, with
726 so much blood, having closed in a manner so agree-
799 able, we retired, as it was evening, to our canoes, and slept in them during the night. Our forces were all assembled here; next morning we discovered that the enemy, in great numbers, had stationed themselves at a place near the shore, called Bunghye, waiting our landing, when they intended to surprise us by a violent and sudden attack; as they had guarded every road leading from the beach to prevent discovery. We were aware of their intention, and the principal chief ordered an attack upon them

in three divisions from three different points. The 175
battle was obstinate and bloody—at length they 669
fled; leaving behind them several old chiefs who 126
fell a sacrifice to our rage.

In the field of battle, was a large Fiatooka. In 177
this, numbers had taken refuge, supposing that, as [178]
it was the burying-place of Dugonagaboola, the sanctity of the place would secure them from violence. Our party however made an attack upon the place, and attempted to pull up the fence. But as the enemy within could not be seen, yet could see us, when any one attempted to pull off the reeds, they pierced him with their spears. They judged it best, therefore, to set fire to it: but the sanctity of the place deterred them. They applied to me: I threw a firebrand upon the thatch; it did not light for some time: at length it was all in a blaze. Many of them fled out, but they found no quarter: the rest therefore stood upon their defence, and fought desperately till they were all killed. A few young women amongst them came out, and begged
hard for their lives. They made these "boboolers," [127]
prisoners, and they became the property of those who first took them.

After the victory, I made inquiries respecting my countrymen; and with heart-rending grief, learned the melancholy slaughter of those at Ardeo. I was informed also that the rest, who lived with other

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175 chiefs, had escaped to the sea-shore; where, it was
669 supposed, they had concealed themselves among
726 the rocks.

797 After the engagement, our victorious troops
took the bodies of their slain enemies, dragged them
[727] to the sea-shore, and after inflicting every brutal
[266] insult of savage cruelty, roasted and ate them:
thinking it a just revenge on their enemies to devour them. In the midst of their savage repast, they were surprised by the appearance of the enemy; but they were so voraciously hungry, that their own safety did not avail to make them stand on their defence in time to resist them. The enemy therefore threw us into confusion. We fled to the canoes with precipitation; some of which were nearly sunk by numbers. Many did not reach them ere they had put off from shore, and fell a sacrifice to the foe. One canoe filled with men and women was stranded. The chief of it determined to defend it to the last; and menaced, and defied the enemy. But one of them stole behind the canoe, and with his boggebogge knocked him down like a bullock; and taking possession of the canoe, all that were in it were massacred.

We made all the sail we could to Attatai. The wind blew against us, but, by midnight, we succeeded in reaching it, after much difficulty. The confusion and slaughter that took place at our embarking, had much reduced our party. The next

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morning it blew a storm, which, for three days con- 175
fined us prisoners on the island, to the great distress 669
of its inhabitants.

For the morning after we landed, we formed dif- 726
ferent parties to traverse the island, and discovered 797
many of the natives who, because they were of the party of the Ahefans, to which district they belonged, had secreted themselves. Poor creatures, they might well flee, for as soon as they were found they were slain.

As the party which I had joined, consisting of five or six, were walking along, we discerned the print of a man's foot in the sandy beach, near the water, which, from the recent fall of the tide, we knew must have been lately made; and therefore concluded that some one must be near us. We diligently searched, and at length discovered two persons hidden amongst the thick brambles that grew out of the side of the rock. We invited them to surrender themselves "boboolers," or prisoners. They came over to us, conscious that they could not escape. But the poor men seemed suspicious of some ill intention against them. My party pretended to lead them off as their servants to their canoes. But perceiving some among us raising their clubs to strike them, they took to flight. One of them, as he ran away, caught hold of me, to ward off a blow that was aimed at him, but being unfortunately on the brink of a precipice, we both rolled down it to-

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775 gether. My party quickly followed us, and killed
669 him there. The other they overtook, and knocked
726 him down, but did not kill him; and some boys a-
mongst us, went, and barbarously amused themselves
727 in beating him. We found many women and children; but none were spared. So dreadful is war in a nation, where the fierceness of degenerate nature is not restrained by the the humanizing influence of civilization; and where ignorant and corrupt man has not been taught mercy, by Christianity.

After three days the gale ceased, and the canoes were fitted out to return to Mooa, that part of Tonga whence we had sailed to Aheefo, before we were driven from the island. We reached it by the close of day.

[729] Here a counsel was held on the means of a second
attack. Many of the Aheefans, we understood,
[778] had retired to a district called Mafanga, which was considered as a sanctuary or country of refuge, to those who fled there. After staying some time at Mooa, to arrange and prepare our plan of attack, we set out with the fleet for Aheefo. The enemy had a force assembled to oppose us; but it was much diminished by the numbers who had fled for refuge to Mafanga. A great part of our men landed, unobstructed by the enemy,—an engagement ensued. We saw them, from the canoes, fight, pursue, flee, and kill. Our troops were too much extended, and seemed in danger of being routed,

175 At length the enemy gave way, and fled beyond
669 Aheefo; where some retired to secret places, and
726 others to Mafanga for refuge. This was a solemn
797 spectacle to me. The thought that had I been on
[727] shore, I might have sunk into eternity in a moment, with all my unpardoned guilt upon my head, excited some concern, and awakened a few transient sensations of gratitude to Heaven.

175 Having gained a complete victory, Loogolala gave
669 orders to sail for Mafanga, and to take the refugees,
[727] but to do them no injury. Eight or nine of the chiefs, whom he took prisoners, he put into a canoe and ordered them to be taken, with a small supply of provisions, to a small distant island, at Arbai, where they had no means of escape. The lower orders were disarmed, and sent to their respective districts,
[728] to await the order of Loogolala. The whole island now submitted to him, and he appointed many of his friends governours of the different districts. He then made a descent upon the Arbai islands, which surrendered to him, and received his chiefs for their governours. From thence he proceeded to another group of islands, named Vavou, and sometimes called by the natives Afoolouou. They made no resistance, but readily yielded to his power. The principal island on which he landed, was almost covered with hogs. Loogolala had "tabooed," that is, laid an embargo upon them at this island, at the commencement of the campaign, intending, if victori-

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175 ous to return hither, to celebrate his success in a
669 plenteous and lengthened festival. Provisions there-
727 fore were plentifully accumulated, by the time he
arrived. Four hundred baked hogs were brought to the spot, and round a stake driven into the ground were piled ten or twelve fat hogs of the weight of eighteen or twenty stone. The banquet was prepared and conducted with much form and ceremony.

Loogolala and his chiefs sat in all the dignity of savage pride, giving out their domineering commands, and drove the natives about like so many dogs. Here they stayed for a month or six weeks, eating and drinking, feasting and dancing, and making excursions of pleasure to the surrounding islands, where they were entertained in the same manner. After exhausting the provisions of these islands, they returned to the Arbai isles, where they continued some time, that Tongataboo might recruit its losses and accumulate provisions against their return.
175 Whilst going from place to place, on these triumph-
799 ant excursions of pleasure, I was frequently expos-
304 ed to the reflections and sarcasms of the young peo-
[515] ple, especially in the hour of bathing, which gene-
rally recurred three times every day, for being destitute of that cuticle vesture, which modesty has taught the South-Sea islanders to throw around them as an excellent imitation and substitute for garments; I mean the Tatoo. On these occasions, they would raise a shout of merriment and call me by opprobri-

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ous epithets, such as Ouchedair, &c. I was at length 175
determined no longer to be singular and the object 297
of ridicule. While at Vavou therefore I consented 304
to be tatooed. But the pain was so great, that I could not endure to go on with the operation, till I came to reside at Arbai, and superintended Loogolala's brother's estate (as will be related in its place). Then I summoned up resolution to have the tatooing finished by a professed operator in the neighbourhood. It was performed only every third day, the pain being so exhausting, and the large tumours which immediately follow not subsiding before that time. When it was completed I was very much admired by the natives, as the European skin displays the blue colour, and the ornaments of the tatooing to very great advantage: I looked indeed very gay in this new fancy covering.

The tatooing is used as much for the sake of decorum as ornament, and it certainly bears so admirable a resemblance to a close dress that it might in some circumstances be taken for it. When I arrived in America, a case of this kind occurred with respect to myself while at New-York. I had engaged myself to a vessel which was going to India, and having fatigued myself during the day in assisting in the lading of her, I went on shore in the evening and stopped and plunged into the water to refresh myself with bathing. Some people not far off, who saw me enter the water, supposing that I was

175 swimming in trowsers, came near to look at me.
I remained in the water till they had walked away,
777 but a boy about fifteen stayed till I came out: he
304 looked at me with great surprise, as though he could
not believe his senses, and upon coming nearer, ex-
claimed, "I thought you had got some clothes on.
Others upon hearing him began to approach, and
had I not put on my clothes, their curiosity also, it is
probable, would have discovered equal cause for
surprise.

175 I recollect there was a chief at Tonga who could
not endure the pain of tatooing, but so impressed
304 he appeared with the absolute necessity of it, as a
decent covering, that he never was seen without
his garment: but the rest of the natives had no de-
licacy in that respect on account of the seeming
vail which the tatoo spreads over them.

175 Amongst the tribes of the Friendly Islands, the
advantage of being a chief is, a life of ease and in-
565 dulgence, and the subserviency of all the inferior
orders to his will and pleasure. While the chief
revels in plenty, the lower classes are often pining
for want: and after all the exactions that are made
from them, they are treated by those who have the
superiority, with harshness, contempt, and brutality,
as though they existed merely for the purpose of
drudging for their support and luxury.

Yet, amid the loud demands that have been made in these times of disorganization, for equality and re-

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form, it has been urgently pleaded that the grand remedy against the abuses of power and the oppressions to which poverty is subject, is to dissolve civilized government and establishments, and to reduce man to the lawless condition of the unfettered savage; as though the corrupt nature of man would not in all situations, from that of an European despot to an Indian chief, this narration proves, seize dominion whenever within reach, and abuse power when not under control. 175 565

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CHAPTER XVI.

He finds his wife at Arbai.—An account of her escape in the war.—He goes to Tonga.—Learns the fate of the other Missionaries.—Rebellion at Tonga.—Horrid effects of it.—Loogolala defeated by the rebels.—Takes revenge on them by tootang.—His stratagems and their success.—The Author's prosperity.—Distress.—Made governour of a district.—Appointed Chief of an Island.

175 797 RETURNING with Loogolala to Arbai, I lived in harmony and ease with the young woman whom I had espoused at the age of fourteen, at my visit to Arbai, as before related. Although no mention was made of her in the relation of the war, that the history might not be interrupted; yet for the information of some of my readers who may be desirous of knowing what became of my wives during the war, I will subjoin some account of this young woman. At the time that the war broke out, I had no wife. When therefore the brother of Mulkaamair, whose daughter the betrothed damsel was, came with Loogolala to Tongataboo, to assist Mul-

175 the canoe. Anxious for the rest of the brethren,
797 who escaped the slaughter which their companions
669 at Ardeo met with, and who had fled and conceal-
ed themselves, as it was supposed in rocks on the
[724] sea-shore, I made particular inquiries respecting
them.

I learned, that at the time the war broke out, Shelly, Kelso, Wilkinson, and Buchanan lived together, or near each other, at Aheefo, under the protection of Dugonagaboola. I heard also that Cooper, who took up his residence with Moola, an inferior chief, at Ahogge, had fled to them for protection. For one day being left alone in his apartment, the natives broke in, and plundered him of every thing, and threatened to kill him. He begged hard that they would spare his life, but told them they were welcome to take all his property.

When Dugonagaboola, under whose protection they all lived, was killed in the treacherous manner which has been related, (in the thirteenth chapter) they were all taken under the care of Komavai, who was a deputy chief under Dugonagaboola. He was always a kind friend to us, and we were all much attached to him. But as soon as two parties were formed, and their friends, the Aheefans, marched to fight Loogolala and his party, then they fled to the
[132] back part of the island. This they could easily do, without molestation, as the island[1] in some places, was not above six, in others only four, and even two

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[1] [i.e. Tongataboo--Analyst]

miles in breadth; while, in length, it was upwards 175
of twenty-six miles. I cannot, however, from my 797
own knowledge, ascertain its proper extent, having 669
been often much deceived respecting the relative [133]
distance of places, through the pain and fatigue of
travelling barefoot: the natives never using any 175
protection for the feet, in the form of bandage or 797
sandal, and my own shoes being soon worn out, or 481
stolen by the natives, who, though they knew not [291]
the use of them, yet as belonging to us they conceived they must be valuable.

I recollect travelling a whole day in company with Harper and Futtafaihe, to see Duatonga at Mooa, but walking barefoot, I was so fatigued and pained that I thought it must be at least thirty miles, but, upon inquiry, I found it to be only seventeen.

When the war terminated with the subjection of 175
the Aheefans, by the party of Loogolala, and we 797
had retired to Arbai, the five brethren returned to Aheefo, and put themselves again under the protection of Komavai, with whom I understood they now resided.

I had some intention of visiting them, but I understood that an European vessel was off the island. I immediately hastened to the beach and went on board. It was an English ship with a spanish prize in her possession: she had put in here for provisions, by the persuasion of John Harris, who was on board. He had settled at Otaheite after he had

175 returned thither, in the first voyage, from the Mar-
797 quesa's, whither he had accompanied William Crook. The vessel having touched at Otaheite, he went on board in order to return to England. He remonstrated with me on my unbecoming appearance in the native dress. I felt conviction of the truth and justice of his remarks; and promised to return again to the ship to have some more conversation with him; but I never saw him more. Mr. Harris having sent word to the brethren they came on board the vessel that very evening; and the next morning I heard with extreme distress that the ship had sailed: whilst I, disjoined from them, was left behind as a just punishment of my dereliction of them and their cause. I now appeared to myself to be deserted for ever. My powers of mind were scarcely able to support me. But I endeavoured to summon up all my fortitude to meet my unavoidable lot, and to reconcile my mind to the prospect of settling as a native, and spending my future days at Tongataboo.

Just as the rebellion began, I arrived in a canoe,
175 with several of the friends of Loogolala, with the
797 intention to carry back provisions from Tonga to
669 Arbai. We had not proceeded far from Mooa, the
726 place where we landed, ere we met affrighted fugitives almost out of breath, who told us that the Aheefans were burning every thing they could, and killing all whom they met. We saw at a distance

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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the smoke ascending from the burning fallees, or 175
cottages, that were scattered about the country, and 797
discerned clouds of dust rising as from the feet of 669
running multitudes. I, who had already been in 726
their wars, and had known what it was to tremble at the apprehension of a club, a boggebogge, or a spear at my back, was terribly alarmed. We hastened back to our canoe, and pushed off to sea to a considerable distance, as soon as possible. After a time the trembling fugitives pursued by the enemy came to the beach; they knew not where to run, nor what to do: many ran into the sea and were drowned,—numbers were killed. Multitudes ran along the shore, and were pursued to Ahogge, one end of the island; whither great numbers were also driven by another party of the Aheefans, who had swept the island in their dreadful progress: here hemmed in by the sea, in front and flank, and their retreat cut off behind, where the island, being very narrow like an isthmus, was occupied by the enemy, the wretched party of Loogolala that had remained on the island after his departure were cruelly massacred.

We rowed off to a little island, and remained there till the arrival of Loogolala, who as soon as he heard of this rebellion, sailed off with a number of canoes for Tongataboo, and landed all his forces. We joined his fleet, and disembarked at the eastern 175
end of the island, in the district of Ahogge, in order 797
669

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 to obtain provisions. Here we were grieved to ob-
797 serve the ravages which the enemy had made.
669 Spectacles too shocking for humanity to contem-
plate, soon sickened my sight, and sunk my spirits.
175 I beheld, with shaking horror, large stacks of hu-
797 man bodies, piled up, by being laid transversely
669 upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the
victory.

727 Proceeding a little farther, a horrid spectacle almost froze my blood. It was a woman in a sitting posture, with folded arms holding a child to her breast as in the act of suckling it. Upon approaching them, I found both the mother and child cold and stiff with death. The enemy had killed them while in this posture, and indulged their savage revenge in amusing themselves with placing the dead
175 bodies in this affecting attitude. Having obtained
797 provisions, we sailed for Aheefo, and leaving our
669 canoes in the care of a few, we disembarked, and
726 were joined on shore by the district of Mafanga. I
followed them at a little distance, but near enough to observe them, as they marched against the enemy who had fled to Aheefo, where they found them
[712] prepared to receive them. They had enclosed
themselves with a fence formed of reeds and stakes, from which there were only two outlets.

Loogolala could not attack the fence, because of of men stationed behind it, on the watch, who the instant an assault was made, would have speared the assailants through the enclosure: he made there-

fore a grand push at the entrance. The enemy 175
stood immoveable, as determined to keep their 797
ground. A bloody battle ensued. Only a few of 669
our troops could engage them. The enemy, there- 726
fore, at length, made us give way; and pouring out of the enclosure, chased us to the beach, where we took to our canoes with all possible dispatch, and made for Arbai. Here Loogolala formed the reso- 175
lution to improve every opportunity of making a 669
descent on Tonga, to "tootang," i. e. secretly to 726
massacre and plunder, and then return.

An opportunity offered too soon. In a clear day, and with a good breeze, we sailed from Arbai at noon; and arrived at Tonga as soon as it was dark. The followers of Loogolala were all well acquainted with the country; every harler, or road, was familiar to them. Loogolala therefore had only to form his plan, that canoes should convey troops to take possession of particular harlers, or roads, as far up the country as a certain limit in the district of Aheefo, and every man at once knew his post, and the part he was to act. These were ordered to march down the roads towards Ardeo—in profound silence, to await the enemy who should flee towards Ardeo. As soon as they were supposed to reach the appointed posts, the main army entered the different roads, at the extremity of Aheefo, leading to the district of Ardeo, where their comrades awaited the arrival of the affrighted

175 664 726 natives, who fleeing from the sound of death and suspecting no danger before them, fell at once in their flight into the hands of their enemies, who immediately slew them in silence, and waited in ambush till the arrival of more men.

By staying behind again, in the canoes, I was happily delivered from sharing the guilty execution and the danger of this horrible plan, through which, ere the sun rose to display the extent of mischief and devastation, hundreds were massacred. Thus suddenly surprised, the enemy could not give the alarm, and collect their forces together to resist us. Whilst the other districts beyond the appointed limit in Aheefo caught the alarm, and assembled to relieve their friends, we were rapidly pursuing them on the roads leading to our canoes, and before they could attack us, we were all safely on board.

175 502 [726] In our return however to Arbai, we were in great danger of being cast away. Though the wind blew unfavourably, we were obliged to sail off to avoid being pursued by the enemy. There were in the canoe in which I sailed off two hundred and fifty souls. During the night the wind veered, and the sea became so very rough, that we were all apprehensive that the canoe could not weather it. But as the morning dawned we discovered land; and providence favouring our attempt, we soon reached it; it proved one of the Arbai islands.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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The horrible revenge by tootang was taken more 175
than once, while I was with them. When they 669
found that they were not sufficiently powerful to 726
make a descent to fight them, they would go in a cowardly manner and cut down a field of plantains or cocoa-nuts. By acts of revenge, like these, the enemy were at length reduced to a state of starvation. Our numbers at Arbai were also so great, that we were often in extreme distress for provisions.

My father-in-law, Mulkaamair's brother, having a 175
considerable family of his own, I left him, during 797
this time of scarcity, and went to live with a relation of Futtafaihe, or Duatonga. I wished also to work myself into a state of independence again; and he soon put me in the way to it, by giving me the superintendence of a tract of land. Finding 175
that I had such methods of cultivation, and gave 797
such encouragement to the labourers that the estate was soon brought into a fertile condition, he placed 634
me over an island in Arbai. Besides the greater
improvements which he thought I should make, [609]
there was another reason why he made me the superintendent of it: because I was moolee or a stranger, and such were the national ideas of the duty of hospitality and forbearance towards strangers, that this very consideration would preserve the younger chiefs, as well as the other natives, from plundering the fruits. But as the event proved, 175
797

175 there were no superabundant fruits to plunder. The
797 number of us was too great for the productions of
the island.

I had reserved, however, a field of plantains for
myself, and having my hut placed in the middle,
that I might the more effectually guard them, I
[609 preserved them till they were nearly ripe. But so
685] pressing were the calls of hunger, that I was subject
to several depredations, notwithstanding my character
as "moolee," or stranger; and one morning,
upon opening my hut-door, I perceived that had I
been awakened to defend my plantation from some
thieves who had robbed it during the night, I
should have been murdered. The traces of human
feet and spears on each side the hut, plainly showed
that two men had taken their station there with
spears ready couched to pierce me as soon as I
should come out.

The scarcity of provisions was at length so great,
175 that we were obliged to eat the roots of the plan-
797 tain tree for our subsistence, and to drink the milk
261 of the cocoa-nut, when very unripe. Hunger pro-
[262] voked me to drink such a quantity, that I was for a
[272] time swelled as though I had the dropsy. When
pining with hunger, I endeavoured to refresh myself
with sleep. But upon awaking, I was scarcely
able to rise, from weakness. Many were in this
deplorable state, and numbers died through want.
[634] At length I repaired to Loogolala, as well as others,
for food.

His brother was at that time in want of some 175
assistance in his district, to prevent the people from 797
plundering the fruits, before they were ripe. He
appointed me superintendent of his district under 634
him, and I managed it with great care and success
for some time.

Before long, however, this brother of Loogolala, 175
feeling umbrage at not possessing larger power, and
finding provisions scarce at Arbai, determined to re- 669
volt against Loogolala, and to take possession of the
Vavou islands. Having made known his intentions [797
to some neighbouring chiefs, and to the young men
in his district, most of them joined him: and he 634]
set off for Vavou, leaving me in charge of his district.

My chief deserting Loogolala, the supreme chief, 175
I was at a loss what to do. Knowing my life was
in danger, I repaired to Loogolala, and put myself 797
under his protection. I resided with him some 634
time. Becoming intimate with him and taking an active part in his concerns, he at length appointed me chief of one of the islands of Vavou; where, as provisions were scarce at Arbai, he sent me with a number of men to bring it into a state of cultivation.

The idea of having an island of my own much delighted me; and I set off for my little dominion with the greatest joy, already anticipating the happiness I should find in being freed from the many inconveniences of dependence, as a resident with a chief;

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 797 634 and doubted not, but I should soon bring the island into a cultivated and fertile condition. Already in imagination I saw the shady trees of my little Abbee Omotaana, again flourish. Already fancy painted to my view rows of sweet canes, embowering new walks of refreshment, and pleasure. Already my busy imagination had erected a fallee or habitation upon a larger scale, planted round with bread-fruit and cocoa-trees, forming for me again the abode of plenty and peace.

But I was not aware of the dangerous post which I had accepted. The chief, whose district I had left, viz. the brother of Loogolala, resided at the Vavou islands; and if I had entered upon my government, I should soon have fallen a victim to his revenge. But a gracious providence was pleased, by a peculiar concurrence of favourable circumstances, to preserve me to see again my native land, and what is far more, to look back on my past ways with repentance, and to attend the long-neglected means of grace with gratitude and pleasure.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XVII.

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The Author's Escape from the South-Sea Islands.

Sets off for Vavou.—His new government.—Hears of a ship.—Sensations produced by it.—Contrivances to reach it.—Dangers in the attempt.—Providential escape to the ship.—Reflections.—The benefits of civilized life and British privileges.

I hastened into the canoe with my new subjects, and a good breeze soon wafted us out of sight of the Arbai islands. It was dark before we came off the Vavou islands. At this time the wind fell; and it was midnight before we reached the shore. As we approached the island, under what the sailors call "the lee," or sheltered side of it, the moon was above the horizon, and by its light we saw a man getting out of his canoe as though returning from fishing. Being hungry I jumped out of my canoe upon the beach, and ran after him, calling out as I approached, "mi a heker mago," i. e.

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797

175 197 "give me some fish." Notwithstanding I spoke the language fluently, yet discerning a difference of tone and accent, he turned round and said, "Koe vacca, pappa langee goo he hen,—ahoo tolou." "There is a ship of your's here, and it has been here these three days." Thinking he was only diverting my attention from his fish, of which my hunger made me very desirous to get some, I replied, "don't tell me, I say, give me some fish." But he assured me that there was a very large ship there. This intelligence excited great agitation in my mind: however I had the prudence to conceal it as much as possible; and appeared to take no notice of the information. Various plans rushed into my mind: sometimes I thought of taking a small canoe, and making my escape to the ship. But well knowing that if met by any of the natives I should be killed, I waited till morning, hoping to prevail on the chief who brought me from Arbai to Vavou, to go to the ship to trade. I told him, I doubted not, but I could get him some iron tools if he would go immediately. At this time another canoe arrived at the island on which we were, from Neua, or the Hoorn islands, not under the government of Vavou, but belonging to a separate nation, who spoke a different language. The natives in it had been some time at Vavou. They informed us that the brother of Loogolala had formed a party against him, and gave me to understand that the chief intended to re-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

venge himself on me for leaving his district at Arbai, of which he had left me superintendent. Sensible therefore that death would be my inevitable lot, if he could get me into his hands, I used every argument to induce them to go to the ship.

At length they consented, but as we approached had the unhappiness to see her under weigh; and was terribly afraid she would sail without me. As the wind however blew only a light breeze, the ship was some time in getting round, and the canoe could go faster than she was then able to do. I persuaded them to let me steer; and we soon came up with her, when the natives refused to let me be any longer at the helm, for fear I should run the canoe against the ship.

When we came near, I called out "How do you do countrymen." But the sailors only laughed at me, as they supposed, from my dress, that I was a native who had picked up some European phrases.

The ship was now just beginning to sail; and the only opportunity of getting out of the hands of these savages was likely to be lost for ever. What should I do? I attempted to call out who I was, but I had been so long unaccustomed to my native tongue, that I perpetually mixed the language of these islands with it: which rendered all I said so unintelligible, as to increase the ridicule and unbelief of the sailors. I jumped overboard, knowing I could easily swim to the ship; when a chief who

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

195 was near, said, "get into my canoe, I will take you
197 to the ship." But no sooner had I entered it, than he turned with me towards the shore. My situation then was almost desperate. I cried out as loudly as I could, partly in the native and partly in the English tongue: but the ship's company paid no attention. What could I do? I lifted up my eyes to heaven in despair!

Providence at length pitied my distress. "The Lord will not cast off for ever, for the spirits would fail before him."* The good captain coming on deck, my anxiety and exclamations caught his attention: he said, that must certainly be an European; and immediately ordered out a boat for me, manned with eight persons. I saw the boat coming; but the natives rowed away from it, tantalizing me, and jeering, "such a chief," said they, "wants to see you. You must visit Loogolala's brother before you leave us." At length a young man at the head of the boat beckoned to me to plunge in. I watched my opportunity, and dived deep into the water, in a direction contrary to that in which the canoe was sailing, and kept myself underneath, that they might not strike me with their paddles. Meanwhile, the boat came up with me, and the sailors pulled me in. The boat then attempted to run the canoes down; but knowing the consequence, that we should all have been murdered, as they were much superior to us in numbers, and we had no fire-arms, I called out to them to desist, telling them our danger: but here, again, I had actually so forgotten my own tongue, that I spoke in that of the natives. The natives understanding therefore what I said, were emboldened, and instead of continuing their flight turned about and began to pursue us. If they had known that we were without fire-arms, it is probable they might have overtaken and murdered us all. We made all the haste we could to the ship, which, through the kindness of a merciful providence, we safely reached. Secure upon deck, I had the satisfaction to behold my late savage companions, from whom I had been delivered, by this concurrence of circumstances too singular to be called merely casual making for that shore, on which, had I set my feet, the cruel revenge of a barbarian would soon have made it my grave. I often shudder at the thought of the peril in which my life and soul were at this alarming crisis, when a delay of a few minutes might have for ever cut off my return to the tranquil delights of civilized life, the soothing pleasures of a peaceful sabbath, and the supporting consolations of religion.

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* Miseris cælestia numina parcunt,
Nec semper læsos, nec sine fine premunt.
Ovid.

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1797

Had it not been for the arrival of this ship, and my sudden escape to it, it is most probable I should at this moment have been lifting up mine eyes in a world of dark despair; as at this time I was "living without God in the world, and sinning against the light and knowledge of his blessed gospel," and the convictions of my own conscience.

After such a signal deliverence, I would not be backward to acknowledge the gracious providence which attended one so unworthy. I feel it my duty to retrace the steps of it, so kindly displayed in my behalf, with admiring gratitude.

000 I shrink not from the declaration of my errors, however it may disgrace me in the eyes of some, if by the confession of them, I may vindicate religion from the reproach which my conduct may have occasioned. But I trust I have to praise the Father of mercies, and the Son of his love, that by his blessed spirit, he has made me penitent for the evil of my past ways and doings; and by his grace, I now endeavour, under many infirmities and interruptions, to live to his praise and glory.—Here I cannot but make one reflection on the error of that revolutionizing philosophy which would make the world happy, by bursting the bonds of society and government, and reducing man to the state of a wandering savage. The joy which I felt upon being restored to the comforts of civilized life, a well-ordered government and the holy duties and services of revealed

here and there between them. A few cable-lengths to 000
the northward of our anchorage was the spot where the 175 177
privateer Port-au-Prince was treacherously taken by Finau
Ulukalala, and on the beach opposite to us the master and
crew were murdered. The two rusty iron guns among [501]
the ballast in the hold of our schooner are part of her
armament. To this event we are indebted for a book of 114
travels that closely approaches 'Robinson Crusoe' in style 175
and surpasses it in interest. Mariner, one of the survivors,
spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his
account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him
by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers.
The book so produced has become a classic: one does not
know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and
wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and
pure style.[1]

As our visit to the king was to be one of state, we 643
had brought with us an old *matabule*, or master of cere- 644
monies, who landed with a root of kava to announce our 276
arrival. We followed him immediately afterwards along 574
the beach to the great native house occupied by the king.
Before we reached it we saw the old man coming down
from the unfinished church, followed by a train of his
matabules. We halted until a mat was spread under the
shade of some large trees, and his attendants formed a
kava-ring, a large oval, with the bowl facing the king.
Fatafehi then led me round outside the oval of sitting 643
men, and we took our seats on the king's left, with our 644
matabule between us and him. On my left was a white- 276 574
haired man with very bright eyes, who afterwards proved 576

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[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

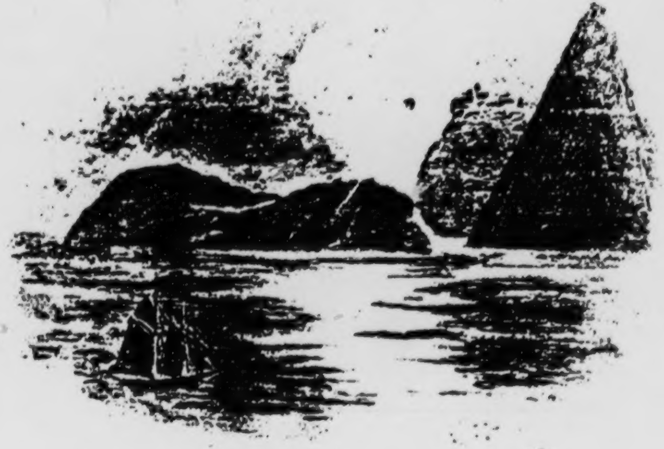
823 persecuted Wesleyans as a sign of the wrath of heaven
795 against the Free Church; but the tables were turned,
[186] and the dull glare of Tofua, which we had seen every
night from Haapai, was now seized upon by the Free Church ministers as a warning of the peril of the State from British machinations. But an eruption is public property, and I was told that Tofua was used by our own supporters to awe the opponents of "the just-dealing Government" into complacency.

With the view of seeing the crater more closely we
133 steered direct for Tofua, and were becalmed within two miles of the volcano long after sunset. The night was very dark, but every few minutes the dull glare of the crater was illuminated with a burst of flame, and masses of red-hot rock were projected into the air with deep reverberations. The crater was not more than 200 feet above the sea-level, and was close to the north shore of the island. I therefore tried to persuade the crew to take us into the deep strait that separates the island from the sugar-loaf cone of Kao. But they were frightened at the explosions, and flatly refused, urging that we should be becalmed on the lee side, and become a target for the missiles from the crater. It was useless to urge that the stones would not fall into the sea: they were obdurate, and we had reluctantly to steer southwards.

175 It was within sight of this island that, on the morning
177 of May 1789, the crew of H.M.S. Bounty mutinied and set their commander, Lieutenant Bligh, adrift in the launch. On landing at Tofua he was treacherously attacked by the natives, and John Norton, his quartermaster, was struck down as he was casting off the stern-

fast. The sequel is thus told by the natives. They 175
dragged the body inland to a *malae*[1] (the island being 177
the property of the Tui Tonga, there are many there),
and after exposing it for three days, they buried it. But [823]
the whole of the track made by the body as it was
dragged along has ever since remained bare of grass,
as well as the spot where the corpse lay exposed.

[133]



Tofua in eruption.

Mariner, who visited the place in 1808, saw this track, and says that it had not the appearance of a beaten path. At the end was a bare place, at right angles to the path, about the length and breadth of a man's body.

Daylight found us within sight of the "new island." 133
Early in 1886 a submerged reef broke out into sub-

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[1] Sacred enclosure where sacrifices were offered.

dire of the two. Having lunched at the sacred enclosure 621
of Kanokubolu, the scene of the massacre in 1800 in which 645
the recreant missionary Vason took part, we rode off along 208 203
the shore, leaving Tungi to water the seed we had sown. [175]

The meeting at Mua was a far more picturesque affair.
Five or six hundred people were assembled in a wide [175]
circle, six deep, under the shade of the historical banyan-trees beneath which Captain Cook sat when he witnessed
the Great Inaji on the 17th June 1777.[1] Acting on my
colleague's advice, I gave some sensational instances of the
squandering of money by our predecessor, and this part of
my speech was listened to with breathless attention. As
I told of the sums spent on cab-hire in Auckland, on
boots and shoes, and on strong liquors, even Mr Baker's
supporters looked discomfited. It was curious to note the 645
alteration in Tukuaho's style when addressing his own 208
people at Mua. Elsewhere his style was persuasive: here 195
he took no trouble to give reasons or explanations. He
simply asserted facts, and his people accepted them. He
is a fine speaker, less polished in delivery than his shrewd
old father, Tungi, but more manly and open. The audience was enthusiastic—even old Nuku cried "*Malo!*" as if
he had forgotten that he was in disgrace. He had advised 565
his people not to pay their taxes, an offence that would 646
have landed him in jail if he had been less aristocratic; 687
but being a member of the Upper House, he could be
threatened only with impeachment for conduct unbecoming a *Noble*. I watched him carefully at this meeting, 565
and decided that he was mad, but not sufficiently so to be 646
harmless, for he is an inveterate talker. When Tongan

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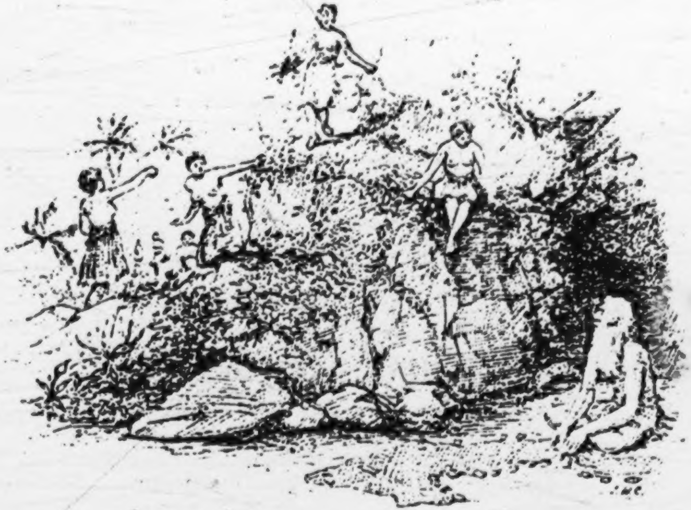
[1] See illustration on p. 317.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

and gave the end to A to pull. And when A was left 000
alone with none to help him, he climbed the nearest tree,
tied his neck to a branch, and died like a foreigner. Their
deaths were better planned than their lives.

To return to Vavau, from which I have strayed 571
many degrees of longitude. Our ride now lay through 175
the wild rocks, buried in flowering creepers that in 1810



"He was discovered by a party of girls."

were the home of Tutawi the hermit. At the beginning of the disturbances that followed the revolution of 1799, this man, weary of the violence of men and the perfidy of women, left his home secretly to live a solitary life, communing with Nature and the spirits of the haunted Liku. The great war and the siege of Feletoa had raged within a few miles of his hiding-place unheeded by him.

57/ Years after his relations had eaten his funeral feast, in the
/ 75 belief that he had perished in one of the numerous night attacks of that perilous time, he was accidentally discovered by a party of girls who had wandered hither in search of scented flowers for garlands, and here the great Finau sought an interview with him and tempted him with the promise of land, slaves, and wives if he would return to the life he had left. But he refused them all, and died as he had lived, alone and unheeded of the few who remembered his existence.

At length we stood upon the precipice of the Ana
133 Matangi, or "Cave of the winds." Through a cleft in the
[68] rock a narrow path led to a ledge whence the adventurous might climb to the cave's mouth; but the Government had taken alarm at the fatal accidents that had occurred here, and had made it a penal offence to make the attempt. The cave's mouth is the top of a vast subterranean funnel whose base is below the sea-level, so that when the tide is rising the air within is compressed with immense force and rushes out of the hole with a deep vibrating hum, and at ebb-tide is sucked in with a whistling hiss audible many yards away. Four times a-day, for a few minutes when the tide is turning, this cave of the winds is at rest, and at these moments it is safe to enter; but at half-tide any one crossing the mouth is either blown off the ledge or sucked in, unless he have a firm foothold and a clear head.

This was not the only expedition in which Finau shepherded me. Like every tourist who stopped at Vavau before me, I paid a visit to the Hunga submarine cave twice famed by Mariner and Byron. It lies some miles

646 lands are not opened in bare legs save in the imagination
291 of Carlyle.

291 For days past the stores on the beach have done a spirited trade in trousers, coats, and shoes—not the sort of shoes that may be bought by the dozen at any bootmaker's, but majestic fabrics of leather, built expressly for the opening of South Sea Parliaments, upon a special last 14 inches long by 8 or 9 broad. Such shoes as these cannot be lightly used. And so the spiritual guides of the people, when teaching that no self-respecting Tongan should attend church without black coat and trousers, admitted the religious principle that a man might work out his salvation in bare feet, and the shoes were relegated to the meetings of Parliament.

646 The scene outside is very picturesque. It is high tide,
[133] and the sea laps to the very edge of the short grass that
carpets the approach to the white Parliament House.
The tall spars of the Cordelia tower above the spires of
the miniature palace. The College students, dressed in
white, are drawn up in two lines, so as to form a lane
from the palace to the doors. The band and guard of
honour look undeniably smart, both in their bearing and
178 the polish of their accoutrements. It is a strange con-
646 trast with the same scene as it is described by Labil-
[175] lardière in 1791, exactly a century ago, when Mumui held
his *faikava* on Sion Hill, now crowned with a church, but
then with those twenty-four funny little huts into each of
which a Cabinet Minister crawled to sleep off the effects
of the Court bowl. Those were dark days before the *lotu*
had illumined the minds of men, and most of the actors
in to-day's scene, booted and be-trousered, full of the

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

I.

THE BORDERLAND OF MYTH.

SEEING that the past is the key to the present, I was at 121
some pains to learn the history of Tonga. This tiny [161]
kingdom of 20,000 people, inhabiting widely scattered [197]
islands, but speaking the same language, intermarrying, and obeying the same Government, boasted so complicated a social polity that its history, as an illustration of the growth of human institutions, is worthy of study for its own sake.

Until the introduction of Christianity swept away the 175
old beliefs and the institutions that depended on them, 643
there were in Tonga a spiritual and a temporal king. The former—the Tui Tonga—was lord of the soil, and enjoyed divine honours in virtue of his immortal origin; but he had an ever-diminishing share in the government, and he could take no part in any civil quarrel. His sole duty

175 643 was to absolve his subjects from the penalties of the broken *tabu*, and to take the good things provided for him without descending into the arena of political strife: he was, in fact, the heaven-appointed sovereign in a limited monarchy. The temporal king — the Tui Kanokubolu — was the irresponsible sovereign of the people, wielding absolute power of life and death over his subjects, and was charged with the burden of the civil government and the ordering of the tribute due to the gods and their earthly representative, the Tui Tonga. 175 643 644 None but the son or grandson of a Tui Tonga could succeed to that dignity, and his mother must be the daughter of the Tui Kanokubolu. The temporal king was therefore always grandfather or uncle of the Tui Tonga. Thus was the blood kept pure.

[784] Although the Tui Tonga had no executive functions, yet, as representative on earth of the immortals, he was environed with the most rigid *tabu*. As it would be inconvenient to multiply personages of such transcendent rank, his wife was always taken from him after having 175 644 554 borne him two children. Her son was the heir, but her daughter attained an even higher rank than her father or brother. She was the Tui Tonga *fefine* (female Tui Tonga), and even her father must bow to her for absolu- [582] tion of the *tabu*. No mortal might aspire to marriage with her, but she might, without loss of dignity, have children, and her daughter, if she had one, became the [264] [784] Tamaha — the highest earthly dignity. Neither her mother nor her grandfather, to whom all others paid homage, could eat in her presence, nor neglect to per-

form the *moïmoï* [1] by embracing her feet when they left 175 644
her. 554

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure 264 784
built of the high estimation in which women were held 562
upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the 643
Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the 173
epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history 175
may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy 643
prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga— 651
lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits;
and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui
Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from 651
Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from 648

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[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it 576
sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches 565
the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm 516
and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the 753
moïmoï must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing 164
death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute
to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moïmoï*
frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu*
they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when 266
the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised.
A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) 648
before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart 167
was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of
the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the
traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence.
The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it
cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued
from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u. [4] Boscawen Island. [5] Keppel's Island.

173 Uvea,[1] from Futuna,[2] and even from Haamoa[3] and the far
175 islands to the North.[4] No man knows whence he derived
643 his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods
[648] themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this
[651] is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of
[776] Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of
[203] the king were carried from one end of the land to the
other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the
[203] message one to the other. It was the time of "*Fanogonogo*
Tokoto" (making proclamation when reclining).[5] And
173 seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world
175 held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put
643 466 heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great
349 stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness;
and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the
tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great
scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry
out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern
when their bellies are empty.

173 Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who
175 was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the
643 people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua
[224] into the bay, and they would land on the islands to
arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near
Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

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[1] Wallis Island.

[2] Hoorn Island.

[3] Samoa.

[4] Gilbert Islands.

[361] [5] At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family
[311] lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Fanogonogo*
[161] *Tokoto* referred to this than that the population was ever much greater than at present.

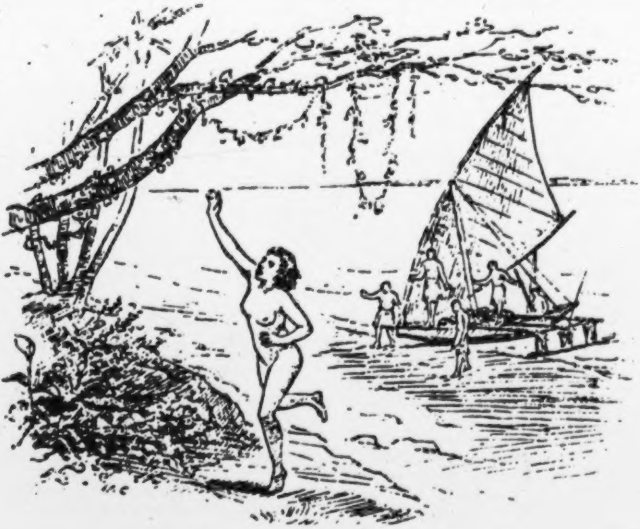
lived on the island went down to the landing-place to 173
see whether perchance they had left anything. They saw 175
a bunch of cocoa-nuts and ran to pick it up, and when 643
they reached the spot they saw lying near it the body of a little new-born child, but the head was like the head of a dove. The old woman took it up gently, and found that it still breathed. She had no children, and she begged her husband to let her adopt it and bring it up as her own; and she took it home and reared it in secret. And as the girl grew up she lost the dove's head, and grew into the fairest woman that was ever born into the world. So fair was she that her foster-parents greatly feared lest some man should see her and take her from them; and they taught her to hide always in the cover of the trees, and to look well abroad before she ventured into the sea to bathe, for great monsters floated on the sea, who, if they saw her, would swallow her up. But the days passed and she saw no one, for Ata was remote from the ways of men, and the fishermen knew it for a barren spot.

Now there came a day when the Tui Tonga sent his fishermen, bidding them return with fish, for he hungered for them. But the chief of the fishermen hesitated, saying that the weather was too stormy for their nets, whereat the Tui Tonga grew very wroth, and swore that unless he had fish that day the chief fisherman should die. So they [226]
went out into the bay and tried to cast their nets, but each cast was spoiled by the wind and waves, which twisted the net and drove the floats under. And towards evening the chief said, "Let us at least try Ata: perchance the water is smoother there. Let us cast but once, and if we fail,

173 then let us return and face the anger of the Tui Tonga,
175 for only the gods could catch fish in this weather."

643 So they sailed to Ata and cast their nets on the lee side of the island, but could catch nothing. And the chief fisherman left the others to roll up the nets and went round the beach of the island to look to windward. And as he passed the point he saw a girl bathing, who, seeing him, fled swiftly up the sand and was hidden in the trees; and he wondered greatly, for he knew not that any man lived on the island, and this girl was the fairest that he had ever seen. He said nothing to his companions, but returned to Mua with them, and went into the presence of the Tui Tonga.

[501]



"She fled swiftly up the sand."

"Where are your fish?" the king asked.

"The gods themselves could not take fish in such a 173
sea. Pardon thy servants, for we have toiled as never 175
man toiled before." 643

"Did I not say that unless you brought me fish you should die? Have ye ever known me to lie? Bring bamboos and the trough, and cut him in pieces."

So they brought the great trough and the bamboo knives, and bound him with vines, unresisting. But when the king's cooks took the knives to cut his flesh he cried out, "Let me speak one word to the Tui Tonga. If I must die I must. I do not ask for a life that is of no value to my chief; but I know something that will never be known unless I tell it before I die."

"What does he know?" said the king: "if he knew the secret of the wind to make it fair at will, yet it should not save him."

And the men went to seize him again, but he cried, "It is well: let me die, since the chief cares not for a beautiful girl."

When he heard this the Tui Tonga cried, "Stop. Do not harm him. What is this he says about a girl? Let him tell us first: if he has fooled us then he shall die."

And the fisherman said, "What am I that I should lie to my chief? I know the fairest girl in all the world, and if the chief wills I can bring her here."

And the Tui Tonga said, "Loose him and make ready a canoe; but if he has lied to us, he shall be hewn in pieces with tortures."

So they prepared the canoe, and the chief of the fishermen called his men together and they set sail, and dragged their canoe ashore at Ata; and the chief fisherman bade

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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173 his men wait near the canoe, and he went up alone into
175 the trees. There he saw two houses, the one closed and
643 the other open, and he went in and found an old woman
sitting on the mats. And he said, "I have come for the maiden to be the chief's handmaid."

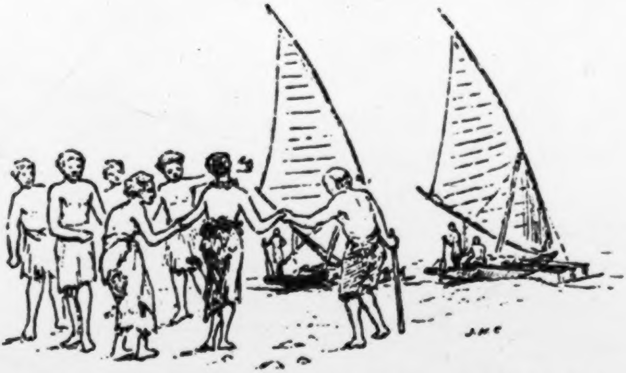
But she feigned not to understand him, and said, "What maiden will you take? Only I and my husband live on Ata, and we have seen no maiden."

But he said, "You cannot hide her from me; for we are many, and you but two only. Come now, I will break down the door of the house if you do not show her to me."

And the old woman began to weep, crying for her only daughter; but he bade her be of good heart, for she ought rather to rejoice that her daughter was chosen to be the handmaid of the Tui Tonga. And she said, "Wait till I have prepared her for her lord;" and she took the girl and bathed her in the sea, and oiled her with scented oil, and bound flowering wreaths in her hair, weeping all the while, and took the finest mats of Haamoa, fringed with the precious scarlet feathers of the kula, and bound them round her slender waist, and brought her to the canoe. And the men who saw her were smitten with her beauty, for there had been no other woman born into the world so fair as she. And they set sail, leaving the woman weeping on the shore, and bore the girl away weeping for her foster-mother's grief, and for fear of that which should befall her. And when they came near to Mua they saw a great crowd assembled at the landing-place, for the Tui Tonga in his impatience had left his house to watch for the return of the canoe; and he kept calling to them to ply their paddles with a stronger hand. When they drew

near he cried out to them to tell her name; and they replied, 173
"Vae-lavea-mata" (The-foot-that-wounds-the-eye). 175
And he took her to his house. 643 [551]

And when her first child was born he called him Kaulu-fonua
(Dweller-in-the-hilltops), and he ordered him to [551]
be taken away from his mother lest she should suckle him
and her beauty be spoiled. So they took him to Niutao,
and nursed him there. And a second child was born to [551]
her, and they called him Mounga-motua (Old-mountain),



"There had been no other woman born into the world so fair as she."

and his father ordered that he too should be taken from
his mother, and nursed by one of her women. And a [551]
third child was born—a girl—who was called Melino-a-Tonga (The-peace-of-Tonga). Her also they took away. And Vae-lavea-mata grieved for her children whom she had never seen, so that when her fourth child would be born she besought the king earnestly that he would let the child be with her. "For," she said, "to what end have I suffered in bringing them forth, if I may not

173 suckle them as other women suckle their children?"
175 And he granted her prayer, and let her suckle the child;
643 and she called him Lo-tawai. So he only of them all
saw his father, the Tui Tonga.

And as the years passed the Tui Tonga's face was changed towards his people, and he laid heavy tasks upon them, even in the planting-time, when every man should
173 be in his own yam-garden. For he built a tomb for him-
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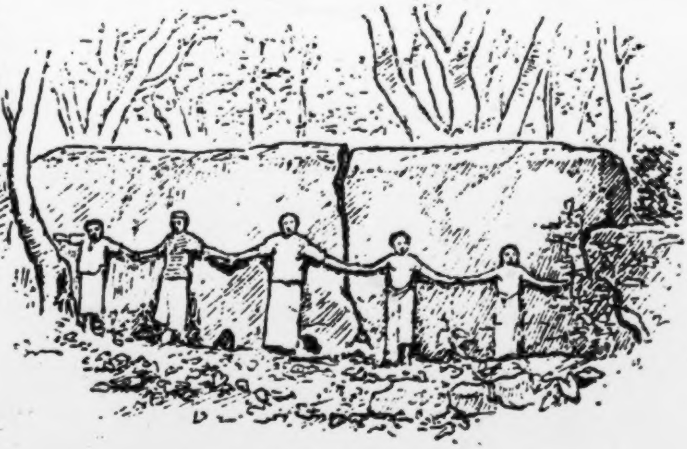
466
[349]



The Tomb of a King.

self in the burying-place of his fathers; but he would surpass them all, and bade the people hew great stones from the reef, greater than any of his fathers had taken for their *malae*. And the stone-cutters hewed a huge stone upon the Liku, like an island for greatness; and the Tui Tonga sent to the people of Belehake, saying, "Go, and drag the stone for the side of my *malae;* so I shall not be forgotten hereafter."

They toiled at the stone all day, sore at heart, for it 173
was planting-time, and in the evening they sent to Tui 175
Tonga, praying that he would suffer them first to plant 643
their yams, and afterwards return to drag the stone, for 466
that it would take many days, and the time for yam- 764
planting was far spent. But he returned answer that they were idle and dishonoured his commands. And the people were afraid when they heard his answer, and gathered together to the stone before it was yet day. And the sun rose on their toil, but the stone was so heavy that when it was low in the west they had only reached the cave Anameama, on the Liku, where there is fresh water. Their throats were dried up with thirst, and they crowded one upon the other in their haste to drink; but so many were they that before they had all drunk the pool was dry, and they licked the mud, and cursed their king in their hearts.

Then one said, "How long shall we suffer this? He has 173
other tasks in his mind for us, and who knows whether 175
we shall live or die, and our wives be given to others? 643 682
Shall we not take rest?"

So they conspired that night to kill the Tui Tonga, and in the morning two old men, Tamajia and Malofafa of Belehake, met him in the path as he went to bathe, and slew him there, and cut up the body so that none might know it, and hung the limbs in a tree.

And one of the king's women ran to Niutao, to tell the children that their father was dead. They were racing toy canoes in the shallow water; and Kau-ulu-fonua, the elder, now almost grown to manhood, was intent upon his canoe, and saw not that the sea was rising and falling

173 unnaturally, but his brother, Mounga-motua, saw it as he
175 sat watching the game on the beach. And he cried,
643 "Chief, the sea is strange." But the elder, thinking
682 only of his game, told him roughly to be silent. Then
[103] the younger saw the sea turn to blood, and as he again cried out in fear, the woman came and sat down respectfully before her chief, therefore the place is called
[103] Faete (Crouching-place) to this day. She said, "I bring tidings (*tala fo'ou*)" (therefore the place is called Tala-fo'ou to this day). "The chief, your father, has been slain."

Kau-ulu-fonua leaped to his feet, and seizing the mast of a canoe, he broke it into three pieces, and gave them to his brothers and to his sister, saying, "Which of us knows our father? Only the child Lo-tawai has seen him." And Lo-tawai answered, "Yes, I shall know him."

So they went forth, led by the woman, and came to the wood called Vao-tabu (Sacred Grove) in which the king had been slain; and the woman led them to the tree in which their father's body hung in a basket. The place is called Tataünga-o-Tui-Tonga, because the body was cut up there. And Lo-tawai looked on it and said, "This is our father: I know the face for his face."[1] And they buried their father there, and called the people to them to war against his murderers, who fled to Eua.

There Kau-ulu-fonua fought them and drove them out, and they fled to Haapai: thither the brothers pursued them, and they fled to Vavau. And as the avengers still

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[1] Penem etiam patris per granditatem mirabilem recognovit; cui quidem nomen proprium datum erat, "Ulie-hae-ā," scilicet "Anguis-qui-sepimenta-perrumpit."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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173 pursued, they launched forth upon the ocean, and sailed
175 to Niua-tobutabu, and thence before the wind to distant
643 Niua-foou; but even thither did Kau-ulu-fonua pursue
682 them. And they fled northward again to Haamoa, whose
[103] ancient name was Hahafakamoa,[1] and were driven out
from thence. Then they put forth again, and fled to
[823] Uvea, and still they were pursued. So they fled westward to Futuna; and because this was the end of the world, and there was no land beyond them to which they might flee, they awaited the coming of Kau-ulu-fonua and his brothers with the remnant of their army.

And when he landed, he prepared his men for war, and
173
175 the men of Futuna, marvelling at his prowess, said, "Thou
643 art not brave of thyself, but by favour of the gods." And
682 he mocked them, and cried, "Then I will leave my back to
776 the gods to defend, and myself defend my face." And as
he was attacking the gate of the wall which his father's murderers had built, one of them wounded him in the back as he was passing through the gate. Thereat he cried, "The gods are fools: they cannot even shield my
173 back." And he seized the old man who had wounded
175 him, and held him until his men came up; and they took
643 the town, and bound both the murderers, and brought
682 them before him, and there was peace. Therefore to this
day are there two divisions of Futuna—the one Futuna, and the other Futuna Tini because it was left unharmed
[648] by the war. And Kau-ulu-fonua told the people of Futuna that, as a reward to them for having helped him to seize his father's murderers, he would grant that they should always spoil the Tongan canoes that reached their

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[1] Hahafakamoa = beating like a cock's wings.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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173 shores.[1] And he gave to the people of Uvea that they
175 should comb the hair of the Tongans who landed on their
643 island with the tail of a sting-ray; and to Niua that they
682 [648] should push away the canoes of the Tongans, and not let
[103] them land: therefore is Niua called Niua-teke-vaka (Niua
the canoe spurner).[2]

Now the murderers were old men and had no teeth,
and when they were brought before Kau-ulu-fonua, he
ordered hard dry kava to be brought, and made them
chew it before him, so that their mouths were filled with
blood. And he bade them pour water into the bowl, and
knead and strain the kava, and he drank the draught
[551] alone. Therefore was he named Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai
(Kau-ulu-fonua the savage); and he slew his father's
murderers in Futuna and returned to Tonga.

173 When he was returned he called his brothers to him,
175 and he said, "I am the chief, but this people have
643 dared to slay the Tui Tonga. What will they not dare?
And how shall the land stand fast if the chief be slain?
Now therefore it is my mind to set a chief over the
people to govern them, and I will be supreme lord of the
soil only, and of the offerings." And he made his brother,

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[1] When the Tongan *matabule* Kau Moala visited Futuna in 1808 he was spoiled of all his goods, and his canoe was broken up. On leaving he was presented with everything he required, but, despite his entreaties, not a single article of his own property was returned to him.

[2] After I had left Tonga I asked an old native of Futuna whether he knew any legends of a Tongan invasion. He wrote down for me an old Saga describing an invasion by the King of Tonga, who cried, when wounded in the back, "The gods are fools!" The only difference in the two stories was that the Futuna account describes the utter rout of the Tongans with so great a slaughter that stacks were made of the dead bodies. Traditions so corroborated rise at once to the dignity of history.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Moungn-motua, lord over the people, and sent him to the 173
peninsula, calling him Tui Haatakalaua. 175

Since that day, though there have been wars in Tonga, 643
and chief has fought against chief, yet the Tui Tonga has passed unharmed through them all, for he was lord of the soil only and of the offerings.

And there came a Tui Haatakalaua, named Moungatonga, who took to wife a chief woman of Haamoa (Samoa), of the land of Safata in Upolu, named Tohu'ia. She bore him a son, Ngata (Snake), from whom the lords of Kanokubolu, the kings of Tonga, are descended. For Moungatonga saw that they did not honour the chief whom they obeyed, but only him to whom they gave the offerings; and he made his son Ngata lord over the people and his descendants, and called him Tui Kanokubolu, and he himself was content to receive the offerings only. From this Ngata, child of the woman of Haamoa, were all the Tui Kanokubolu sprung, even to Tubou, the king.

Such is the tradition of the origin of the curious politi- 175
cal system of Tonga that so puzzled Captain Cook. It is 643
easy to divest the story of its envelope of heroic fiction, and to find the kernel of sound history. The chiefs in Polynesia represent the blood of the original family in its purest form, and to ancestor-worshippers they naturally become the living embodiment of the ancestral spirit. As the tribe grows in numbers and importance, they begin to receive semi-divine honours: with the superstitious respect comes power, and with power the inclination to abuse it. The people are goaded into resistance, and the chief, to protect himself and his successors, delegates the

175 643 executive power to an inferior chief, and by thus placing a buffer between himself and his subjects, he secures not only his own safety from popular outbreak, but an increased reverence for the rigid *tabu* that begins to environ him. [562] [644] This evolution of a sacred line of chiefs is not peculiar to Tonga, but the system was there complicated by a repetition of the process by which the temporal sovereign again delegated his authority; and by the curious higher degrees of rank enjoyed by females of the spiritual chief's family, arising from the high estimation in which women were held.

As Tongan history may be said to begin with the reign of Kau-ulu-fonua, it is important to fix approximately the date of his exploits. In Appendix I.[A] will be found a list of the Tui Tonga from Kau-ulu-fonua to the last holder of the office. Since the visit of Captain Cook in 1777 the frequent civil wars, and the introduction of Christianity, caused years to pass without the installation of a Tui Tonga, and the office was abolished on the death of Laufilitonga. There have therefore been only four since that date. From 1643 to 1777, a period of 134 years, five Tui Tonga reigned for an average of twenty-seven years each.[1] By the same computation the four Tui Tonga who preceded Tasman's visit in 1643 would have covered 108 years, and Kau-ulu-fonua was Tui Tonga in the year 1535.

From a list of the Tui Kanokubolu it appears that there have been ten since 1777, and eight before that date, including Ngata, who was the first to assume the title.

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[1] Captain Cook found that the natives remembered the circumstances of Tasman's visit in 1643, and were able to point out his anchorage, and to say correctly how many days he stayed. They gave the name of the Tui Tonga then reigning, and the names of five successors of the same dynasty.

A /See pp. 395 ff. - Analyst/

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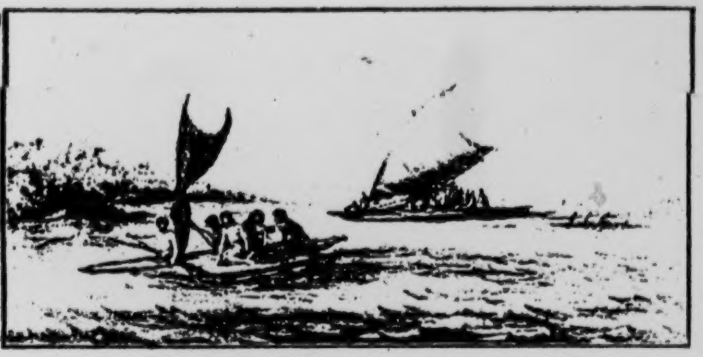
Taking twenty years as the average reign of a Tui Kanokubolu before 1777 (for the short duration of reigns during the past century was owing to the incessant civil wars that followed the murder of Tukuaho), the date of Ngata's assumption of the title would be about 1610. 175 643

The Tui Kanokubolu was not strictly a hereditary office, like that of the Tui Tonga. None but a member of the reigning family could succeed, and a custom seems to have grown up of choosing the successor alternately from the families of the Tui Haatakalaua and the Tui Kanokubolu; but it was always open to the principal chiefs, who formed the electoral college, to reject any aspirant to office who was physically, mentally, or morally unfit to reign. Two conditions weighed with them—the dying wishes of the late king, and the relative power and popularity of the candidates. The election took place immediately after the funeral ceremonies, when the entire nation was assembled; and the election of the most influential chief was a guarantee against civil disorder.

Considering the primitive character of the canoes and 505 their ignorance of navigation, the geographical knowledge 175 of the Tongans was already wide at this remote date. 484 Their canoes must have often been carried out of their course to Fiji, which lies only 400 miles direct to leeward. That they made voyages to and from Samoa in the sixteenth century is shown by the fact that Ngata's mother was a woman of Upolu in Samoa; and the pursuit of his father's assassins by Kau-ulu-fonua shows that they knew of the existence of the Niuas, Uvea, and Futuna, as early as the sixteenth century. A very ancient saga describing the customs of one of the Line Islands indicates that they were visited at a very remote date. Colonies of Tongans

505 175 484 are known to have settled in Mangaia to the eastward, and in Ongtong Java to the westward,—castaways, per-

[501]



The 'Tongiaki,[1] *the canoe, now obsolete, in which the early voyages of the Tongans were made.* (From a plate in the British Museum.)

haps, who fought their way into the possession of lands belonging to the aborigines.

II.

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS.

175 177 Under a strong central Government, knowing nothing of civil disturbances, never called upon to repel invasions from without, the people had time to digest the new in-

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[177] [1] Unlike the Fijian canoe, the *Tongiaki* had a fixed bow, and went about like the modern cutter. In tacking, the sail was unlaced from the yards and carried to leeward of the mast. It was entirely displaced by the more complicated *Ndrua* of Fiji about the beginning of this century. Both Schouten and Captain Cook give detailed descriptions, and I have an excellent model built for me under King George's directions.

stitutions. If their young men wanted excitement, there 175
was Fiji: there they might have their fill of war and rap- 177
ine, but in Tonga they must obey the chiefs set over them [622]
by the gods or brave the consequence of the broken *tabu.* [784]
In those days no Tongan had dared to test the belief. 175
It was not a superstition. They had seen men die whom 784
they knew to have infringed a *tabu*, and others, cursed by 761
some enemy, had withered away before their eyes. Thus
was royal authority strengthened by physical fear—ever
the strongest influence with the mob.[1]

For sixty years the land was at peace. They built great 175
tombs for their chiefs, and turned the islands into vast
gardens, so that there was abundance, and rich portions of
the first-fruits were presented to the gods. Then Mou- 175
ngatonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, took the Samoan woman 643
Tohuia to wife, and when her son Ngata grew to manhood, Moungatonga grew wearied with the weight of authority, and charged him with the dominion of the people, while he withdrew himself into the honoured obscurity of rank without power. The new temporal king took his title from the sacred soil of Kanokubolu

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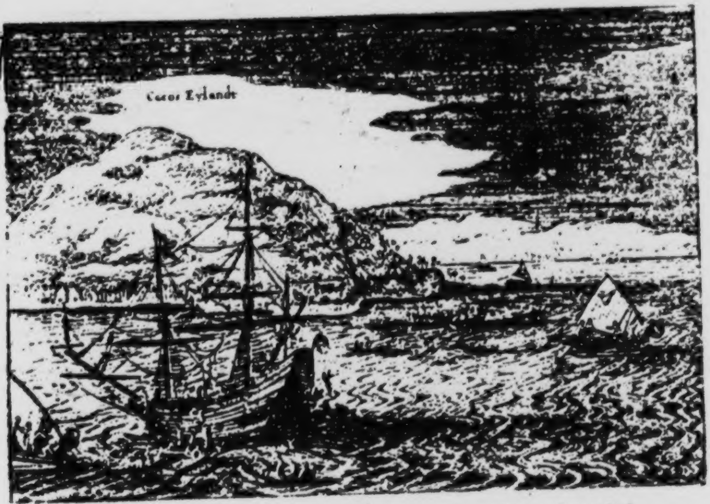
[1] Now that the bugbear of the *tabu* has been put to flight before the
light of Christianity, they have preserved the belief in a changed form.
They believe that he who swears falsely, after kissing the Bible, must die. [779]
In 1886 a house was burned down by an incendiary, and before the courts [626]
could interfere, all the villagers met together for a trial by ordeal. A Bible
was brought, and each person took a solemn oath that he or she was innocent of the crime. They took no interest in the judicial inquiry, feeling sure that the culprit would die within a few weeks. Not long afterwards an elderly woman named Ana began to sicken and refuse her food. She grew rapidly worse, and at last confessed that, in a fit of jealousy, she had
set fire to the house of her rival. Her end was hastened by the warnings [769]
of her relations that if she was guilty of perjury she had no chance of recovery. She was fairly frightened to death.

175 643 in Hihifo. At first probably he was the mouthpiece or messenger of the higher chiefs, their Chancellor and perpetual Prime Minister; but the power was destined to grow until it overshadowed the dignity of the heaven-descended Tui Tonga himself.

175 177 609 [501] In Ngata's reign the Tongans first heard of a world outside their own. On May 16, 1616, the two high-pooped Dutch ships of Schouten and Lemaire anchored at Niua-tobutabu. To the fierce inhabitants they were no visitants from the world of spirits, but men like themselves, possessed of property worth seizing. Under colour of selling cocoa-nuts to the crew they tried to carry off a boat; and one of them was shot dead before they would desist. They then made a general attack upon the ship,



The discovery of Niua-tobutabu by Schouten and Lemaire, 1616.
Vide Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was 175
learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with 177
safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a 609
rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very
hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that 175
the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided 177
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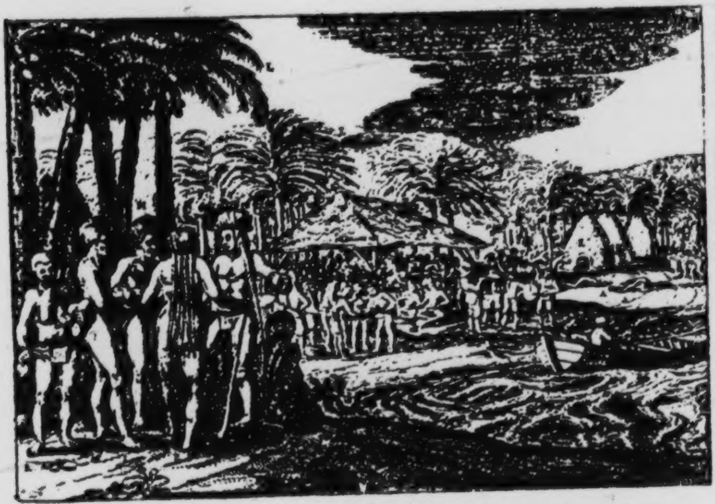
by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood [311]



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Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, showing ancient mode of wearing the hair. Vide Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--
^ Analyst/

175 the house of the owner. They saw no weapons and no
177 villages, for the time had not yet come when the alarms
[361] of civil war would drive the people together for mutual
[411] protection. The age of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* (making pro-
[669] clamation while reclining) meant the age of peace and plenty rather than the age of a crowded population. Among the presents given to the Tui Tonga was a wooden bowl, said to be that which, in the Tui Tonga's absence, was used by his subjects to absolve the *tabu* in the ceremony of *moëmoë*. Tasman sailed away, and the Tongans saw no more of the foreigners for 124 years. The priceless iron tools they had given them had long been worn out and disappeared, but the memory of their coming, embalmed by one of the native poets, remained fresh to its smallest details. Four kings had reigned and had been laid in their

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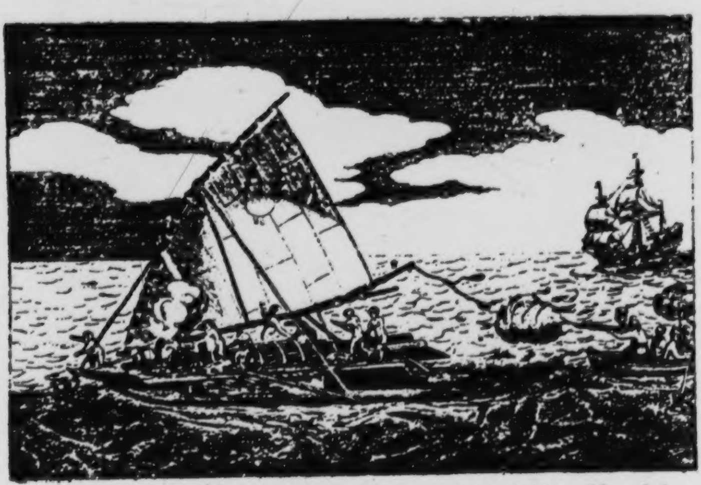


An unprovoked attack by Schouten upon a Tongiaki *off Niua, May* 1616.
Vide Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

malae when foreigners again set foot on the soil of Tonga. 175
On August 13, 1767, Wallis, fresh from the discovery of 177
Tahiti, brought to for one day at Niua-tobutabu, and gave
the people a few nails in exchange for provisions. These
gifts, so precious to a people still in the stone age, were
at once carried to their suzerain chiefs in the islands to
the far southward; and when Captain Cook landed six
years later in Tongatabu, he saw them in the hands of
his entertainers.

When the Discovery anchored at Hihifo on the 10th 175
June 1773 the principal chiefs were absent in the islands 177
to the northward, and he saw no one but Latelibulu, the 642
brother of the Tamaha, whom, judging from the honour paid to him, he mistook for the king. Four years later he landed at Namuka in the Resolution and Discovery, and met Finau Ulukalala, whose restless character had raised him from the position of hereditary chief of Vavau to one of greater power than the Tui Kanokubolu himself wielded. Cook thus describes him: "He was tall and thin, and appeared to be about thirty years of age. His features were more of the European cast than any we had seen here." His evident authority in Namuka led Cook at first to suppose that he was king, but when he was confronted with Pau, the Tui Tonga, and performed to him the humble act of *moëmoë*, he rated him as an impostor of that contemptible kind that pretends to a dignity to which he is not entitled. When, however, he realised in Tongatabu the extent of his influence with the older chiefs, and saw that even the Tui Tonga did homage to his female relative the Tamaha, he abandoned all hope of solving the mystery of the Tongan Constitution, and, for want of a better

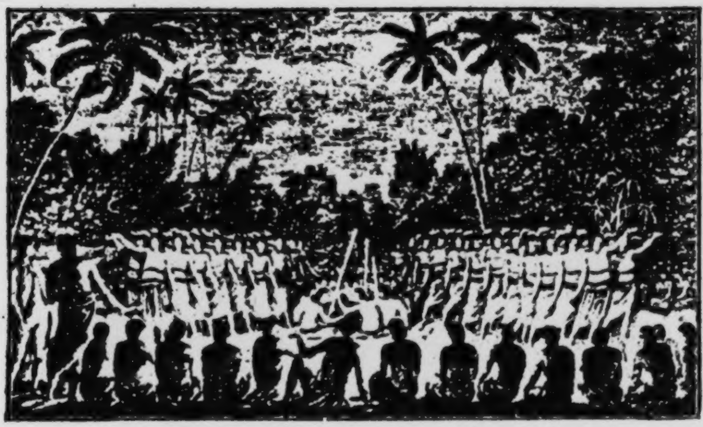
175 definition, elevated Finau to the dignity of Commander-177 in-Chief.

642 Anxious to keep the visitors to himself, Finau showed 175 them the most lavish hospitality at Haapai, and did all in 177 his power to persuade them to visit Vavau. But the Tui 609 Tonga, attracted by the accounts of the priceless possessions of the strangers, now arrived, and invited them to become his guests at Tongatabu. Finau, nothing abashed at having fallen in his visitors' estimation, followed in his own fleet, and encamped on the shore opposite the little island of Pangaimotu, where the ships were anchored.

The white men were not always conciliatory. The peasants, or serfs, were a noisy, uncouth set, who, when unrestrained by their chiefs, treated the strangers with scant respect, and robbed them whenever they had an oppor-[554] tunity. In their eyes a successful theft was an achieve-[565] ment to be boasted of rather than a crime; and as a serf has no soul, it was a matter of indifference to the chiefs how they were punished. Thieves were flogged almost daily on board the ships without disturbing the friendliness of Finau in the least; indeed he himself recom-[151] mended this punishment. An officer wrote in his journal: "One was punished with seventy-two lashes for stealing only a knife; another with thirty-six for endeavouring to carry off some drinking-glasses; three with three dozen each for throwing stones at the wooders; but, what was still more cruel, one man, for attempting to carry off an axe, was ordered to have his arm cut to the bone, which he bore without complaining." As no such punishment as seventy-two lashes was allowed in the navy at that time, and the writer was so evidently hostile to his com-

mander, it is probable that the severity of the punishments 175
has been exaggerated. 177
609

The chiefs owed their visitors no gratitude. Every present they had received, every condescension shown to them, had been repaid by liberal gifts of provisions. The ships were filled with treasures as precious in their eyes as gold would have been in the eyes of their visitors, and in a few days they would sail away never to return. Why, they thought, should they not prevent this? For the details of the conspiracy they had recourse to Finau, who had seen more of the white men than any of the others. Preparations had already been made for the assemblage of a vast concourse for the performance of dances in honour of the visitors: what would be easier than to fall upon the white men during a night dance by torchlight, conceal the bodies, and, when a party came from the ships to look for



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A bo-mee or night-dance at Haapai, June 1777. (From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 their commander, to lead them inland and massacre them?
177 The ships thus weakened would be an easy prey. But
609 Finau thought that the attempt should be made by daylight, lest, in the confusion caused by the darkness, they should fail in boarding the ships. When he found that the majority were disinclined to adopt his advice, Finau declared that he would have nothing to do with the scheme, and it was reluctantly abandoned. On Tuesday, June 17, Cook and his officers attended the dances without suspicion, surrounded by nearly 10,000 natives, who, if the signal had been given, would assuredly have succeeded in massacring the whole party.[1] The gathering of so vast a crowd in the neighbourhood of the ships could not fail to produce disorder. There was a scarcity of food, and the parties landing for wood and water were insolently plundered. Several turkeys were stolen, and for the first time Cook determined to hold the chiefs responsible for the acts of their serfs. He landed with an armed guard, and without any warning put Finau and Maealiuaki, the Tui Kanokubolu, under arrest in their own house. A number of armed men now assembled with the evident intention of attacking the guard, but Finau, concealing his feelings, ordered them to disperse, and despatched messengers to recover the turkeys. As soon as these returned with the birds the guard was withdrawn, and their friendly relations were resumed. They still dined on board, and continued to send provisions to the captain. But when, a few days later, the muskets of one of the shore parties were stolen, and Cook proceeded on shore to repeat his policy, he found that the chiefs had wisely with-

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[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

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drawn, and it was not until he had given them solemn assurances of their safety that they consented to return. The stolen arms were eventually recovered through the medium of the chiefs, who were not in the least concerned that one of the thieves, who had been wounded with a ball, was not expected to live.[1]

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Cook now prepared to leave Tonga, but contrary winds detained him long enough to witness the ceremony of the

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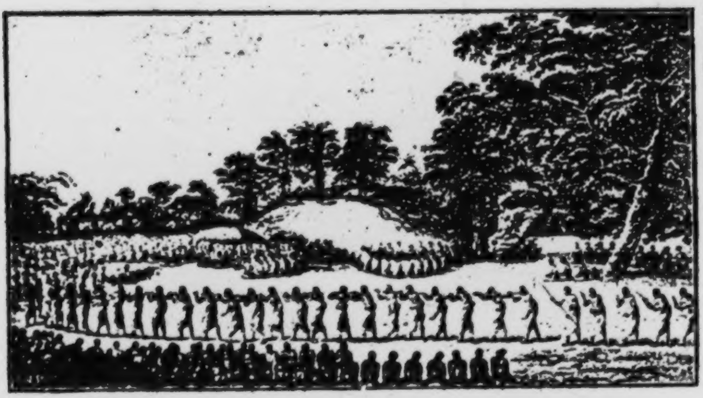

The great inaji *at which Captain Cook was present, June 1777.*
(From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

inaji, or the presentation of the first-fruits to the gods in the person of the Tui Tonga, their representative on earth. The ceremonial, the dresses, the wooden symbols for the yams, puzzled him extremely. Though forbidden to approach, he forced his way into the inner circle that surrounded the Tui Tonga, and was allowed to remain on the

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[1] This man was seen alive and well sixteen years later by D'Entrecasteaux-Labillardière.

175 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans,
177 then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their
609 manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws
643 committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he
782 set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months
later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence
in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom
he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped
to engender.

175 It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and
178 Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should,
721 twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found
practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What
internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt
a change? Native traditionary history supplies the
175 answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan
177 character.

178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular
intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans
for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga
[144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the
great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure
stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a
[171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The
Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the
family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at
perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation
than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But
generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of
the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm
[313] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,
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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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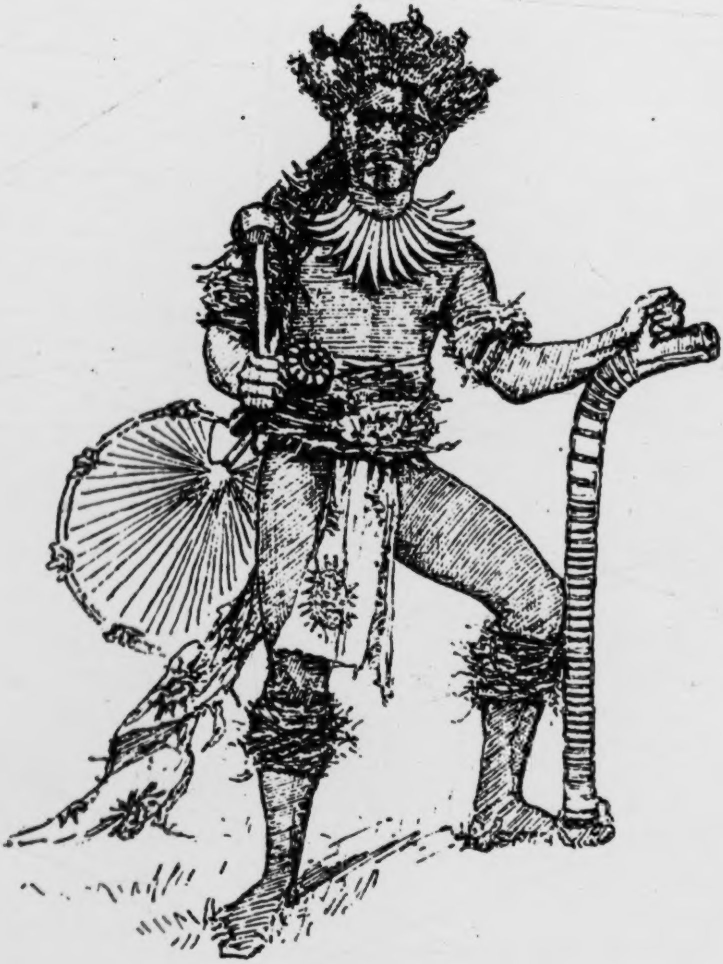

A warrior of Fiji.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 and it was not until the eighteenth century that any
177 but the principal chiefs could fit out expeditions for
178 distant voyages. A little before 1750 several canoes had
[313] [505] run down the wind to Lakemba, and their crews, after
joining one or other of the local chiefs in war, and gaining
him the victory by their superior daring, had taken their
share of the spoil, exchanged their small canoes for larger
craft, built of *vesi* from Kambara, and returned to their
own country laden with exotic plunder, and boasting of
[86] their foreign experiences. Thenceforth an expedition to
[565] Fiji became the keystone of a Tongan chief's education,
just as in Europe at the same period the "grand tour"
was considered essential to the training of an English
gentleman; and as our travellers brought back outlandish
habits and strange wares, which were admired because
they were foreign, so Cook found that the Tongans spoke
of their neighbours as their superiors in war and in the
175 useful arts. The cold-blooded treachery that will betray
177 a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal
186 ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved
178 lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul
appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain
enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges
of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the
comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy,
and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments
of his more travelled countrymen. It would surprise
the Tongan of to-day to hear that his fathers looked
up to the Fijians as his superiors. A contempt born of
familiarity has taught him to estimate the characteristics
of his neighbours at something less than their proper

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value. The taste for licence engendered by intercourse 175
with Fiji could not but have its effect upon the political 177
situation of Tonga. The young chiefs chafed at their 178
enforced inaction, for there was no scope for personal 186
ambition in a State controlled by so firm a central [642]
Government.

III.

THE REVOLUTION.

Tukuaho now became the central figure upon the stage. 175
In his morose and cruel temper, his unbending policy, 643
his tragic end, and the long years of bloodshed and misery that followed it, he stands out in the memory of his countrymen in lurid relief. About the year 1784 the Tui Tonga, Pau, who had so hospitably entertained Captain Cook, died, and Tukuaho immediately seized the estates claimed by his widow on behalf of her son Maulu-beko-tofa, who was still a minor. Her resistance was useless, and she was driven to take refuge in the island of Eua. It was the first sign of the waning power of the Tui Tonga, and the growing assumptions of the high temporal chiefs. Tukuaho's motive was doubtless to seize upon a conspicuous place and secure to himself in due course the reversion of the office of Tui Kano-
kubolu. About 1790 Finau Ulukalala died, and was succeeded 175
by his brother under the same title. The younger 643 634
Finau was Tukuaho's only rival for the leadership of the young party, and he, being occupied with the affairs of

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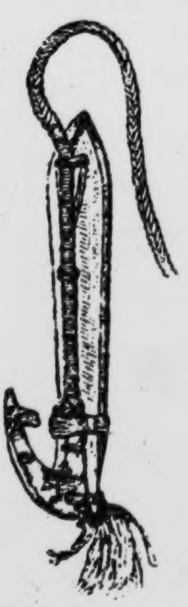
175 Haapai, could not as yet interfere in the affairs of Tonga-
643 tabu. As soon as the office of Tui Kanokubolu became
[634] vacant by the death of Mulikihaamea, Tukuaho successfully schemed for the election of his father Mumui to the title, that he himself might wield the power. His father was already so old that he could not long stand in his way. Meanwhile a bitter jealousy sprang [226] [283] up between Finau and Tukuaho, none the less bitter that it was concealed. It was unfortunate for their country that the two men should have existed in the same generation. Both ambitious, both unscrupulous, both of inflexible purpose, the tiny stage was not large enough for both to play their parts, and a struggle to the death was inevitable.



The Tui Tonga's fish-hook.

175 797 177 At this juncture the ship Duff, fitted out by the London Missionary Society, landed nine artisan missionaries, who attached themselves to various chiefs, and were thus enabled to record the events of the most stirring times in Tongan [609] history. Unfortunately for themselves, they quarrelled with two runaway sailors who had landed some months before them, and were already in high favour with the chiefs; and these men lost no opportunity of damaging them with the natives, by representing their religious services as witchcraft designed to destroy them,—a statement to which a prevailing epidemic among the chiefs gave colour.

Mumui was now very infirm, and not likely to survive 175
many months. The executive power had therefore passed 643
into the hands of his son Tukuaho, who lived at Hihifo,
but virtually governed the whole island. The power of
the spiritual chiefs had so far declined since Cook's visit
that the missionaries describe the Tui Tonga as coming
below the Tui Kanokubolu in power and influence. On [782]
the 29th May 1797 Mumui died, in spite of the sacrifice
of one of his relations at the shrine of the gods. Two of [768]
his widows, after the custom of Fiji, now fast becoming [593]
the fashion, were strangled at his grave, and the usual [177]
scenes of barbarous grief ensued.[1] At the close of the
funeral ceremonies Tukuaho was formally elected Tui
Kanokubolu, and inducted with the ceremony of kava-drinking.
He is thus described by a contemporary: "He [157]
is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age, is
of a sullen, morose countenance, speaks very little, but
when angry bellows forth with a voice like a roaring
lion." Possessed at last of the supreme power in name
as well as in substance, he gave rein to his instincts
—the instincts of a beast of prey. Many stories are
told of his cruelties: how for a mere whim, worthy of
a Commodus, he ordered the right arms of twelve of his
servants to be amputated; how, as a punishment for a
woman who had offended him, he had her sawn asunder
lengthwise while still alive.[2] But these were not the true 175
causes of Finau's hatred against him, though they served 643
as an excuse for his ambition and insatiable restlessness. 669
Against a more popular ruler he would not have
dared to rebel; but the savage and wanton cruelties of

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[1] 'Missionary Voyage of the Duff.'

[2] Mariner's 'Tonga.'

175 Tukuaho had rendered him so unpopular, that it was
643 easy to gain adherents to the cause of rebellion. He
669 had long been gathering the young men round him, thus
taking the position which Tukuaho had himself used to
raise himself to the position he held.

175 At last the opportunity came. It was the time of the
643 annual *inaji*, or the offering of the first-fruits to the
669 Tui Tonga, when the whole nation gathered to Mua to
782 implore a bountiful harvest from the gods. At such a
[578] time enmities and political distinctions are laid aside,
and the Tui Tonga becomes for the time, as of old, the
head of the nation. Thus when Finau and Tubou Niua,
the tributary chiefs of Haapai and Vavau, arrived at
Mua with a large body of followers carrying their share
of the offering, there could be no suspicion of their
175 designs. In the evening they took leave of the chiefs
643 and set sail with their followers as if bound for Haapai,
669 but in reality to wait on one of the small islands at
the mouth of the lagoon until the people, wearied with
dancing, should be asleep. In the dead of night they
landed on the coast some miles from Mua, and returned
overland to the capital. The night was very dark, and
they had to feel their way to the door of the king's
[302] house. When Finau had posted guards in every approach, Tubou Niua, whom he had put forward to do
the deed, crept into the house among the sleeping forms,
until he could smell the precious sandal-wood-oil with
which he knew the king's head only could be anointed.
Unwilling that he should die in ignorance of the hand
that struck him, he smote him on the face with his
open palm, and, as the sleeper started up, he cried, "It

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OU9 Tonga OU9

is I, Tubou Niua, that strike," and immediately shattered 175
his skull with a tremendous blow from his club. He 643 669
snatched up Tukuaho's adopted son, whom he wished to save, and rushed out of the house as Finau's guards ran in to kill the women just awakened. The alarm was now given. The frightened attendants tried to escape the unknown danger by flight to the bush, but in every road they were met by Finau's guards and struck down.

Hastily collecting their party, the assassins made for the beach and broke up all the canoes but those sufficient to transport them to the eastern end of the island. The sun rose at Mua upon a scene of bewilderment and confusion. Men from all parts of the island were crowding [714]
into the town; warriors, hastily armed, were blackening their faces for war; women were wailing over the dead; and old *matabules* went from group to group exhorting them to avenge the death of their chief. To Muliki- [565]
haamea—now the most important executive chief in the island after the dead king—they all looked to lead them against the murderers, whom they knew to be awaiting the turn of events at Hahake. The hopes of the Royalist party were centred in him, but he would take no decisive action, and the half-hearted expedition despatched against the rebels returned in the evening with the loss of half their number, and reported that Finau had sailed to Haapai for reinforcements. Three days later he returned with ten war-canoes carrying a large body of men. Thousands had now joined Mulikihaamea, who was expected to dispute Finau's landing; but, to the dismay of the Royalists, he went over with his whole force to Finau, and together they swept the country as

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OU9 Tonga OU9

175 far as Mua, driving their enemy before them to Hihifo.
643 The eastern and central portions of the island were
669 thus ranged against the western. Tradition has left us no clue to the motive of Mulikihaamea, but, to judge from Finau's subsequent conduct, it seems probable that the rebels were assured of his support before they ventured to strike the blow.[1]

For the events that followed we have the accounts of
127 the missionaries who accompanied the Royalist army; of the apostate Vason, who actually fought on the side of the rebels; and the descriptions given by the natives to Mariner eight years later.

175 Tukuaho fell on the night of the 21st April 1799.
669 The missionaries were scattered throughout the different
797 districts, each living under the protection of some leading
622 chief, who, though willing to protect them during times of peace, was quite unable to restrain his people after war
579 had broken out. With the first news of the rebellion the serfs broke down all restraint, and slaughtered pigs and fowls wholesale to compensate them for their enforced abstinence in times of peace. For the first fortnight there was no general engagement, but there were slight skirmishes which served to embitter the hostility between
266 the two parties. One of the rebels was taken prisoner, and was cut up alive and eaten,—a reversion to cannibalism,
177 after the lapse of two centuries, that was owing,
175 doubtless, to the baleful example of Fiji. Ata, the hereditary
669 chief of Hihifo, ordered the bones of Finau's father
769 to be exhumed, and hung upon a tree in Pangaimotu.
576 This was the grossest insult that could be offered to the

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[1] Vason's 'Four Years in Tongatábu.'

Ulukalala family, and it served several chiefs as an 175 669
excuse for deserting to the rebels. [769]

On the 9th May news reached Hihifo that the rebels [576]
were advancing, supported by Finau's fleet of fifteen sail
of canoes. Their plan was to shut the Royalists up in [725]
the narrow promontory of Hihifo and utterly destroy them. The rebel army, led by Mulikihaamea in person, marched on the evening of the 9th as far as Teikiu, and despatched an advance-guard to reconnoitre. Among these was Vason. This party advanced till nightfall, and then took shelter for the night in a house near the road without taking the precaution of posting sentries. The Royalists meanwhile, led by Ata, left Hihifo at four o'clock in the afternoon, halting during the night to allow a party time to push to the front. The night was very dark, and they crept forward, each holding the belt of the man in front of him. They could have slaughtered the rebel outpost as they slept, but they chose rather to pass them and take the main body by surprise at Teikiu. At daybreak the rebel outpost was surprised by the main body of the Royalists. They observed no sort of order or formation, and in a few moments they were in full flight. They rallied again at the end of the cross-road that led to the position of their main force; but the enemy, leaving a small force to keep them from effecting a junction, ran off to reinforce their comrades then engaged with Mulikihaamea. At the sight of this reinforcement the rebel army, which had been taken by surprise at daylight, was filled with dismay. Their leader tried in vain to restore confidence: they wavered and fled. In his efforts to rally them Mulikihaamea was left behind in his litter, and the

175 enemy, making a sudden rush, surrounded the twenty
669 people who formed his guard and overturned the litter.
They gave no quarter to his companions, three of whom
were women; and while they hesitated to slay so great a
chief, a man ran up crying, "Kill him!" and upon the
175 sudden impulse he was clubbed where he lay. After the
669 death of their leader the rebels made no further stand,
797 and the Royalists pursued until they reached Haateiho,
609 where three of the missionaries, who had declined to accompany
either army, were still living. They had been
warned by the fleeing rebels to come with them, but,
trusting in their known neutrality, they preferred to
remain to protect their houses. Among the Royalists
was a man to whom they had refused an axe which
he coveted. Calling to his companions, this man set
upon them, clubbed them, and looted their house.

175 Tired of pursuit, the Royalists returned and found that
669 the rebel outpost had succeeded in driving off the few
men who had been left to keep them in check, and were
trying to succour their wounded. They now set off in full
flight for the coast, pursued by the victors. On their way
they met Finau's contingent, who had just disembarked.
175 By their direction they continued their flight, drawing the
669 enemy across the beach towards the canoes. Suddenly
565 they turned and fell upon their pursuers, who, taken by
727 surprise, dropped Ata's litter and took to flight. There
was now a debate as to what should be done with their
prisoner, who was related to one of the chiefs who had
captured him. This chief, unwilling to seem partial to
an enemy, wished them to kill him, but his attendants
insisted that, out of respect for himself, the prisoner's life

should be spared. They therefore retired and called to 175
his sons, who came forward and bore him off in his 669 565
litter. 727

The three surviving missionaries, who had accompanied 175
the victorious army, had left it very early in the day, 669
disgusted with the acts of ferocity they had seen. In 797
one place they had come upon an old man in the act of 266
cooking part of the body of an enemy, intending apparently to eat it; in another a man was celebrating his triumph over a fallen chief by cutting up his body,—and even some of the women dipped their hands in his blood and licked them. On their return to their house in Hihifo, they found that it had been looted by their own party and destroyed. In despair they took refuge among the caves on the deserted Liku.

The rebel army passed the night in their canoes. At 175
daybreak they saw that the enemy was preparing to 669
attack them in force as soon as they landed, hoping to 725
take them by surprise at the sacred enclosure of Pangai, the burying-place of the Tui Kanokubolu; but Finau, warned of their intention, landed his men and attacked them simultaneously from three points. After an obstinate resistance they fled to the enclosure within which stands the king's tomb, hoping that the sanctity of the place would protect them. The rebels, not daring themselves to desecrate the place, applied to Vason, who set it
on fire. No quarter was given, and the refugees, driven 175
out by the fire, were all slain, except a few women who 669
preferred slavery to death. These became the property of 727
their captors. The victors now dragged the dead bodies to [266]
the shore, exhausting their ingenuity in insulting them,

175 669 [727] [266] and there had roasted, and begun to eat them, when the enemy returned to the attack. There was a rush for the canoes. Overloaded and nearly sinking, they put off from the shore before the fugitives could all embark. One canoe laden with men and women was aground, and its occupants, together with those left behind, were all massacred. The remnant of the rebel army succeeded in reaching the island of Atatá, where they were confined for three days by a severe gale: they spent the time in murdering the defenceless inhabitants, who were supposed to have Royalist sympathies. From Atatá they sailed to Mua to take counsel for a renewal of the attack.

[797] The missionaries, who had taken refuge on the Liku, now ventured to come out of their hiding-place and accompany a number of the Royalists to Maofanga. This is a sacred spot, situated a mile to the eastward of Nukualofa, which, from the rigid *tabu* that attached to it, had become a place of refuge never violated by war. In a few days Finau's army made another descent upon Hihifo by sea, and on May the 29th, after an obstinate engagement, they utterly routed the enemy. On the 3d of June he summoned the refugees before him at Maofanga, and allowed all except ten of the leaders to go free. Mafi, the bravest and most influential of the Royalist warriors, and nine others were sentenced to various punishments. Some, bound hand and foot, were taken out to sea and put adrift in leaky old canoes, while Mafi and the others were led to the canoes amid the loud lamentations of their wives and children, and landed at Lofanga, a small island of the Haapai group, where they were bound naked to cocoa-nut-trees and left to starve to 175 669 727

death. There, exposed to the heat of the sun, to raging 175
thirst and hunger, they were tortured by the boys of the 669
place, who amused themselves by sticking spears into 727
their flesh, or by showing them food to tantalise them;
yet some of them lingered till the eighth day, and all
bore their sufferings without complaint. The people of [775]
Lofanga still say that at night they hear the groans of
the spirits that haunt the spot.

Having settled the affairs of Tongatabu, Finau Uluka- 175
lala returned to Haapai. He found a body of Royalists 669
drawn up to meet him at Haano, who after a sharp
conflict surrendered to him. He disarmed the lower [727]
orders, and punished the chiefs with the same barbarity
he had practised on the chiefs of Hihifo. From Haapai
he sailed with Tubou Niua to Vavau, which submitted to
him after a desultory warfare lasting for several weeks.

For nine months there was peace. The Hihifans had
not in truth accepted the new order, but they had not
recovered sufficient strength to resist. On the 24th of [797]
January 1800 the privateer Betsy, with a Spanish prize
in tow, took away all the survivors of the ill-fated mission except the apostate Vason. A few days later, while a party of Finau's men were at Hihifo collecting provisions to relieve the scarcity at Haapai, the rebellion against Finau broke out. A party of Hihifans ravaged the central district, burning and laying waste, and at last hemmed in the Haapai men at the narrow promontory of Hihifo. Here they took an ample revenge for the wrongs they had suffered. When the slaughter was ended they made stacks of the bodies, laying them transversely one upon another.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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175 As soon as the news reached Finau he set sail with all
669 his forces from Haapai, and disembarked at Hahake, the
eastern end of Tongatabu, in order to procure provisions
for his army; but he found that the country had been
utterly laid waste by the enemy. He therefore lost no
175 time in coasting westward. In Hihifo he met an unex-
669 pected check. The enemy had intrenched themselves
725 behind earthworks surmounted with a strong reed fence.
He tried in vain to force the gate, and when his men were
wearied with repeated attacks the enemy rushed out and
put them to flight. They ran for their canoes, and sailed
at once for Haapai. Finau was now driven to revenge
himself by a series of night attacks. He would arrive off
the coast at nightfall, and post men in every road leading
to the fortress. A sudden attack would then be made,
and the enemy, taken by surprise, would rush into the
country for shelter, where they were struck down by the
men in ambush. Before the alarm could spread to the
neighbouring forts Finau's men had re-embarked and were
[501] under sail for Haapai. These expeditions were made in a
single canoe carrying 250 men.

175 The planting season had come and gone, and the con-
669 stant alarms had prevented any provision for the ensuing
731 year from being made. The object of every hostile expe-
dition had been to destroy as much of the crops as pos-
sible. The year 1800 opened, therefore, with a terrible
famine in Tongatabu, while in Haapai the land proved
insufficient to support the large number of men congre-
175 gated there. Each district had thrown up intrenchments,
669 within which the people lived, not daring to resume the
[361] cultivation of their lands. Many were driven to can-
[266]

nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between 175
the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunting 669
expeditions. 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafuli- 175
muloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's 669
eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui 643
Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within
their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior;
and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed
chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his
own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises.
Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and
Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in [167]
voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing [712]
that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual
predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress
on the hill at Nukualofa.

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened 175
Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au- 609
Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr 669
Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were
mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation
was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the
ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr [727]
Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom
he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted
for a most charming book of travel.^A

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by 175
English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's 669
fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead 725
of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- [713]

A /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this
^ account -- Analyst/

175 cation of seeing his works burnt by Takai, his pretended
669 ally, as he was sailing away. Tubou-malohi henceforth
725 became a wanderer from fortress to fortress, taking refuge
175 with his tributary chiefs, being driven out by each of his
669 hosts in turn, until at length he became the guest of
643 622 Teukava[1] in Hihifo. Unfortunately for both of them,
578 his restless spirit could not be satisfied with inaction.
They laid siege to the neighbouring fortress of Nukunuku, against the advice of their *matabules*, and in attempting to garrison it, Teukava lost his life. Emboldened by his death, his enemies attacked the fortress at Hihifo, and although they were beaten off by the bravery of its de-
175 fenders, yet Tubou-malohi feared to remain there. He
669 accordingly despatched an embassy to his younger brother,
643 Tubou-toa, then Governor of Haapai, begging him to in-
[634] tercede with Finau Ulukalala to allow him to live in
security at Haapai. In due course the two brothers visited Vavau, and the elder did homage to his father's murderer and his own subject. It must have been a proud moment for the usurper. Tubou-malohi lived in retirement in Haapai until 1812, leaving his kingdom of Tongatabu to the civil war and anarchy that he had been unable to repress.

175 Tubou-toa, though he had given in his adhesion to the
669 stronger party, had not forgotten the murder of his father.
634 He had taken a solemn vow not to drink from a cocoa-
nut-shell until he had had his revenge upon Tubou Niua, and his submission to Finau, whom he knew to be equally guilty with his brother, was designed to bring him nearer

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[1] This chief had a white woman, Eliza Mozer, for his wife. She was taken from the American ship Duke of Portland.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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to his object. Tubou Niua, as Governor of Vavau, had 175
become very popular with his people. He was of a brave 669
and open character, little fitted to cope with the cunning 634
of his inveterate enemy, who lost no opportunity of poisoning Finau's mind against him. He was, he said, plotting a rebellion against Finau's authority, and he habitually neglected to send tribute of the value due to Finau's rank and power. At last he openly proposed his assassination; and Finau, never deaf to any proposal that would advance his own interests, even at the cost of the treacherous murder of a brother, listened to him. The murder is thus described by an eye-witness:—

> One evening, about an hour before sunset, the king desired Mr Mariner to accompany him and his daughter to Mahina Fekite, about three-quarters of a mile off: he was going, he said, to consult an old chief, Toki-ae-moana, who resided there, upon some political business. Finau usually carried with him a large [411] whaling-knife (the blade of which was 2 feet long and 3 inches wide). Mr Mariner, observing on this occasion that he did not take his knife, asked him if he should take it, and carry it for him: he replied, "No, I have no need of it." Mr Mariner obeyed, and followed him and his daughter unarmed. In their way they came near to a pool, and Finau stepped aside to bathe, previously sending an attendant to Tubou Niua to desire him to come to him. By the time he had done bathing Tubou Niua arrived, and all four pursued their walk to the old chief's house, where, when they arrived, the two chiefs and Finau's daughter entered the inside fencing, while Mr Mariner went into a house within the outside fencing, and remained in conversation with a female attendant of Finau's daughter. They had not been long here before Tubou-toa came in, and shortly after went out again. There entered soon after four men belonging to him, who immediately began to take down the sail, mast, and spars

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of a small canoe, stating as their reason, when questioned by the woman, Tubou-toa's orders to prepare a canoe: having taken what they wanted they went out. In about two hours Finau came out of the inner fencing, followed by Tubou Niua and his own daughter. As they passed on, Mr Mariner followed her, and the female attendant walked last. It was now night, but somewhat moonlight. As they passed the corner of the outer fencing, Tubou-toa and the four men just spoken of rushed from their hiding-place, and made a violent assault on Tubou Niua. The first blow of a club he received on his shoulder (intended for his head). He immediately exclaimed, "*Oi-au-e Finau, teu mate?*" (O, Finau, am I to be killed?), and retiring a few steps, he set his back against the fencing. Finau, who was several paces in advance, immediately made what was thought to be a feigned attempt to defend him, exclaiming, "*Oi-au-e seuke, kuo mate ae tangata!*" (Alas! this noble man is killed;) but he was held from his strong, yet pretended, endeavour to run to his assistance by some other attendants of Tubou-toa, who came up and forced Finau into the fencing. (It must be recollected that Finau did not choose to bring his whaling-knife with him.) Tubou Niua, who was without any offensive weapon, as he had been without any suspicion, warded off several blows with his hands and arms till, these being both broken, he was unable to lift them up, when a blow from Tubou-toa on the head made him stagger, another knocked him down, and he was beaten as long as signs of life remained, and for some time after. At this moment a young warrior, whose name was Latuila, and whose father had been formerly killed under suspicions, strong suspicions, of conspiracy by Tubou Niua, came up to the spot possessed by a spirit of implacable revenge. He struck the body of the dead chief several times, and exclaimed, "The time of vengeance is come! Thou hast been long enough the chief of Vavau, living in ease and luxury, thou murderer of my father! I would have declared my sentiments long ago if I could have depended upon others to second

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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me: not that I feared death by making you my enemy, but the 175
vengeance of my chief, Tubou-toa, was first to be satisfied, and 669
it was a duty I owed the spirit of my father to preserve my life 634
as long as possible that I might have the satisfaction to see thee
thus lie stinking" (dead). He then repeated the blows several
times upon his stomach.

In spite of Finau's positive denial of complicity with the murderers of his brother, he did not deceive the chiefs of Vavau. In Haapai, in the centre of Finau's army, they were at a great disadvantage. When the stone was let down upon the tomb of their murdered chief, one of the assassins publicly challenged any of them to single combat; but none of them accepted, preferring to reserve their revenge. They swore allegiance to Finau upon a consecrated bowl, and received his commands to put themselves under the authority of his aunt, Toe-umu; and all, except the late chief's *matabules*, who were kept back by Finau, returned to Vavau. But a fortnight later the news came that Toe-umu herself had declared her independence of Finau, who had so treacherously allowed the death of
his brother, her great friend. They had built the largest [725]
fortress ever seen in Tonga, and they were prepared to [712]
resist Finau to the death. While the preparations for an invasion of Vavau were being made, Finau's son, Moengangongo, and Vuna, the former Governor of Vavau, arrived from Samoa, where they had been absent for some
years. One of their canoes, with sixty people on board [501]
and all their treasures, was lost in a gale which the other five succeeded in weathering.

Finau, in obedience to an oracle, first visited Vavau [787]
alone to endeavour to make terms with the inhabitants,

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the
669 condition that he would cut off all communication with
634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked
[787] his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-canoes,
[701] with four carronades and ammunition. The siege
[501] lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in
[713] obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon
[725] [787] their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.
175 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pretended
669 634 that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several
727 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound,
and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for
the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky
canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their
executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning
them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and
the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,
all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regretting
their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

175 In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regarding
634 the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the
771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well
776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity
[643] in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga
seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a
[782] mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He
[643] was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great
annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the
famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to
175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His
634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was
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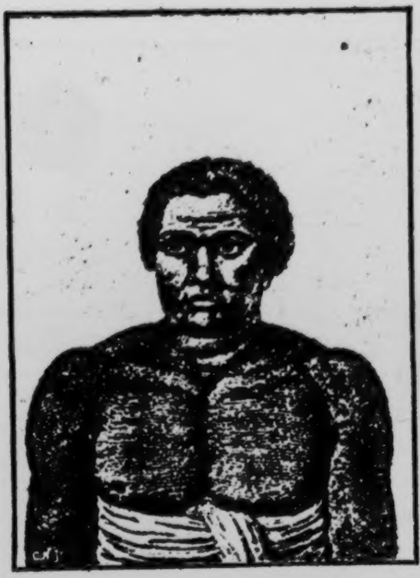
still hope he humbled himself before the deities he had 175
slighted, and implored them to visit his sins on his own 634
head rather than upon hers; but the inspired priest 776
answered that her death was required as an atonement for 793
his continued neglect, and that a severer punishment was in store for him. As soon as the first paroxysms of grief were passed he determined on the most impious revenge he could devise—namely, to kill the priest of his god, Tubou Toutai. He had actually sent for a rope with which to bind him when he was seized with sudden illness. It was in vain that one of his children was strangled to appease the gods: in twenty-four hours he was dead. But the evil he had wrought in Tonga could not end with his life. He had found his country in peace and plenty, he left it torn by famine and civil war, having in his short life caused more bloodshed and human suffering than the aggregate in the whole of Tongan history before his time. A contemporary writer thus sums up his character: "A char-



Finau Ulukalala, the rebel, after Labillardière.
(From an engraving in the British Museum.)

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acter like Finau's would have well suited the Greek drama. The great masters of that drama would have desired no better elements than are to be found in the history of this remarkable man: his remorseless ambition and his natural affections—his contempt for the fables and ceremonies of his country, when in prosperity—his patient submission to them, when in distress—his strong intellect—his evil deeds—and the death which was believed to be inflicted on him in vengeance by the overruling divinities whom he defied."[1]

[628]
He was succeeded by his son, Moengangongo, a chief of milder character, whose one desire was peace. His first act was to banish to Haapai the chiefs who were likely to plot against his Government, and to announce that henceforth all communication with Haapai would be at an end. His people were, he said, to devote themselves to cultivating the soil, and those who preferred less peaceful pursuits had this opportunity of joining Tubou-toa; for after the canoes left there would be no further intercourse with the islands to the southward.
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A few months after his accession the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, died, having reigned only four years, and the young chief, now to be known by the family title of Finau, seized the opportunity for carrying out his father's intention of abolishing the office. Like his father, he regarded the institution with its attendant ritual as a useless tax upon the people; and he foresaw too that as long as the annual presentation of the *inaji* was continued, it would be impossible to cut off all intercourse with the outside world. The office was therefore abolished for some years, and when it was revived in

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[1] Quarterly Review.

the person of Laufilitonga, the last of the Tui Tonga, the 175
ceremony of the great *inaji* had been discontinued too 634 643
long to be resumed. 782

Mariner, the only historian of this period, left in 1810; 175
and for the events of the next few years we are depen- 177 177
dent upon native sources. In 1811 Finau II. died, and 175
was succeeded by his uncle, Finau Fiji, otherwise known 634
as Tuabaji—a wise and temperate chief, with greater
experience if less natural mental activity than his
nephew. Under his rule intercourse with Haapai was [628]
resumed, for he felt himself strong enough to keep disorderly spirits in check.

Haapai now became the political, as it was the 175
geographical, centre of the kingdom. Tubou-toa had 628
gathered round him the great warriors of Tonga, many 643
of them trained in the arts of war as practised in Fiji. [701
With him were his brother Tubou-malohi, the nominal 177]
Tui Kanokubolu, and Vuna, the banished chief of Vavau.
To keep his warriors employed, he was obliged to make [578]
an annual descent upon Tongatabu without any decided
success. In 1812, however, Tubou-malohi died, and his
brother became the natural successor, although his mother
had been a woman of inferior rank. He was duly elected [578]
to the post by the chiefs who were under his leadership,
and he lost no time in invading Tongatabu. During the [669]
eight years that remained to him, he succeeded in mak- [642]
ing some at least of the revolted chiefs acknowledge his
authority; but at his death, in 1820, the fortresses were
rebuilt, and the island relapsed again into anarchy.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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IV.

KING GEORGE.

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When Tubou-toa was establishing himself in Tongatabu, he did not leave the government of Haapai unprovided for. His son Taufaahau[1] was now growing up to manhood. Born in the year 1797, he was two years old when the murder of his grandfather, Tukuaho, plunged the country into civil war. His childhood was spent among scenes of famine and bloodshed, the horrors introduced from Fiji, where boys of his age were taught to torture wounded prisoners in order to make them pitiless. He saw the crew of the Port-au-Prince struck down on the beach at Haano, and stood by while eight of his countrymen perished, stifled by the oil in the vessel's hold, in which they could not swim. He remembered the alarms of that night when his father slew Tubou Niua, and so avenged his grandfather's death. At an age when boys are still playing with toy canoes, he was joining his father in the night attacks that have made his name a terror to Tongatabu. His great natural powers were enhanced by the most careful athletic training. As he surpassed his fellows in stature and length of limb, so was he their superior in all sports that demand skill. None was so fleet of foot, none could meet him in a wrestling- or a boxing-match, none could endure against him in swimming in the surf, nor handle a *tafaanga* laden

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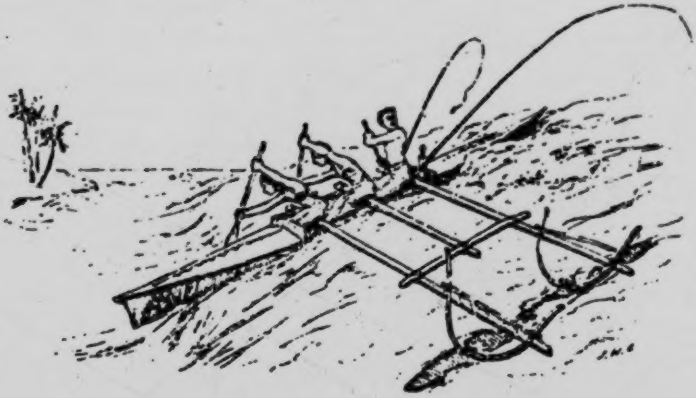
[1] In this chapter King George is called Taufaahau until his accession to the throne under the royal name of Tubou.

with fish in a seaway as he; none was his match in a fight 175
to the death. During one of the annual attacks upon 643
Tonga, he had left his comrades near the canoe, and had
gone a little way from the shore. Suddenly he found [411]
himself, armed with only a Fijian throwing-club, face to
face with five assailants, who had lain in ambush for him.
His followers were too far off for his voice to reach them,
and he knew that against their long spears his throwing-club could avail him little. He turned and ran before
them, keeping just out of reach of their weapons, leading

[501]



A tafaanga *in the surf.*

them inland towards a place that he knew of where the soil gave place to jagged limestone rocks. Little distressed himself, he ran on until he knew by their labouring breath that his pursuers had begun to tail off. This was his opportunity. He turned and met the leading man, and struck him down before he could recover from his surprise. Seizing the spear that dropped from his hand, he fell upon the second and third, who, gasping for

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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175 breath after their run, were at a great disadvantage. The
643 other two did not await his onset, but fled, leaving him
victorious.

[634] Such was his reputation as a warrior, that he was
marked as the future leader of the Haapai people when
he had scarcely attained manhood. He was twenty-three
when his father died in 1820, and the unity of Tongatabu,
bought by years of hard fighting, was again swept away
by civil war. Taufaahau saw no advantage in following
his father's example, who ever wearily pushed up the
stone of conquest in Tongatabu only to see it roll back
upon him weakened by his hopeless labour. The Government
of Haapai, impoverished as it was by the years
of war, would give him work enough.

[628] For six years there was no Tui Kanokubolu. The
garrisons of Tongatabu still lived within their intrenchments,
but they were tired of war, and for a time there
was an armed peace. But a power was at hand which
was destined to accomplish that which invading armies
175 had fought in vain. In June 1822 a Methodist missionary
797 named Lawry, fired by the writings of the survivors
of the artisan missionaries landed by the Duff,
[771] made a second attempt to teach Christianity. The growing
disbelief in the ancient superstitions that had led
Finau Ulukalala to attempt the abolition of the great
inaji, and to curtail the privileges of the Tui Tonga,
[793] had spread to Tongatabu. The influence of the priests
had been undermined by the licence of war, and Lawry
had not to face the difficulties that beset the pioneers
[634] of the Duff. He found the chief power in Tongatabu
to be in the hands of Maealiuaki, or Talau as he was

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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also called, the son of Mulikihaamea, who was temporal 175
sovereign before Mumui. He had married Kananga, a 797
granddaughter of Mumui, who had just borne him a son, 634
Tungi,[1] who was through his grandfather, Mulikihaamea,
the representative of the Tui Haatakalaua. Fortunately
for Lawry's influence, in November 1823 a young chief
named Futakava, who had been taken to New Zealand
and Sydney by a passing vessel, returned to Tonga.
They had treated Lawry's accounts of the wonders of [609]
foreign countries with scepticism, but they did not think [829]
of doubting the evidence of one of their own countrymen,
even when, after the manner of travellers, he indulged in
exaggeration. But before Lawry could expect to reap
the fruit of his labours he left the islands. His stay
of fourteen months served, however, to pave the way
for his successor.

In 1826 two Tahitian teachers landed at Nukualofa 175
and began to hold services; and two months later a 797
Mr Thomas, despatched by the Methodist Society in [634]
England, landed at Hihifo, and put himself under the
protection of the chief Ata. For some months he had
to contend against opposition, but in 1827 the spirit
of curiosity was so far awakened in the natives as to
make it safe for him to hold services in Nukualofa. At 175
the close of the previous year Tubou, a half-brother of 643
the murdered Tukuaho, was elected Tui Kanokubolu,
and formally installed. It has been said that he was
elected as a bribe to wean him from his leanings towards
the new faith; but a comparison of the dates of his
appointment and Mr Thomas's arrival makes it more

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[1] Speaker of the Assembly, and Tukuaho's father.

175 probable that his election was the result of a prolonged
643 peace of six years, which gave the chiefs time to revert
to the ancient constitution of society. One year after
175 643 his election he publicly embraced Christianity, and a
797 party, having for its object active resistance to the new
669 faith, was immediately formed against him. Tubou was
[621] utterly wanting in force of character. His impulse to
please every one led him to temporise with the heathen
party, which was composed for the most part of chiefs
who saw in the new faith a menace to their own power
over their people. Had he been less vacillating he might
have crushed the growing resistance to his authority at
its birth, but his resolution failed him until it was too
late.

Against his irresolution the character of Taufaahau
175 stood out in strong relief. He had long been sceptical
634 797 about the gods of his ancestors, and his mind was ripe
to imbibe new ideas. He had heard of the new teachings,
and he longed to hear them for himself. He therefore
wrote to Mr Thomas asking that a missionary might be
sent to him. No white missionary was available at the
time, and he had therefore to be content with Peter Vi,[1]
the ablest of the new converts. Bitterly disappointed,
Taufaahau refused at first to receive him, but at last his
curiosity prevailed, and he allowed Peter to teach him
175 to write. As soon as he understood the teachings of the
634 new religion he signed the death-warrant of the old. To
797 silence the opposition of the native priests, he dragged
798 Peter with him into many escapades intended to discredit
the deities of his ancestors. They presented kava to

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[1] The same who visited us on a hand-cart in Haapai.

the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate 175
woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they 634
hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit- 797
houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration 798
that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties.

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the Astrolabe anchored 175
at Pangaimotu,[1] and was attacked by a party of natives, 177
who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being 609
disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and knowing the evil character the people had earned in their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put in for a few days to secure interpreters.

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji[2]), who 175
now held independent sway over Vavau, following Tau- 634
faahau's example, had also written for a missionary; but 797
his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he
soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Tau- [628]
faahau visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes, on political business, and took that opportunity for attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour. It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary whether it would be safe to promise Finau a missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods. Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack.
Being before all things practical, Finau determined to 175 634
give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally 797 776 778

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[1] Near Nukualofa.

[2] Described by Mariner.

175 breaking with them. He had seven of the principal
634 idols placed in a row, and addressed them as follows:
797 "I have brought you here to prove you, and I will tell
776
778 you beforehand what I am going to do, so that you may
have no excuse. I am going to burn you. If you be gods, escape!" But as the idols made no attempt to escape, he gave orders that the spirit-houses should be set on fire. Eighteen were thus destroyed; but the weather being damp, they took four days to consume, and the people sat by terrified, waiting for the retribution that must follow such iniquity.

175 Meanwhile Finau's brother prepared to oppose the new
634 faith by force of arms. After plundering the outlying
797 villages of Vavau, he intrenched himself on an uninhabited
578 island. Finau called upon Taufaahau to help him out of
the difficulty brought about by following his advice. At the head of a strong party of Haapai warriors he landed on the island, and tried his powers of persuasion upon the hostile force. Besides his physical prowess Taufaahau possessed another gift that appeals most powerfully to primitive man — eloquence. Often when his men were jaded, hungry, and dispirited, a few words from him would turn their thoughts from their own sufferings to the glory to be won by fiery courage and the shame of failure. "When Tubou spoke like that," said one of his chiefs, "the warriors would not wait to hear the end, but rushed upon the enemy and bore them down."

While the enemy still hesitated he prepared for the attack, but they did not await his onset. They threw open the rude gateway and sued for peace. No blood was shed, but the leader was banished to Fiji, and a number of his

followers were taken to Haapai as prisoners of war. This 175
moderation on the part of conquerors was the first-fruits 634 797
of the new faith, for by ancient usage the lives of the 578
chief rebels would have been forfeited.

In 1833 Finau Ulukalala died, and on his deathbed 175
committed the government of Vavau to Taufaahau until 634
his heir should be grown up. Upon this the Roman 693
Catholic missionaries have founded a charge of usurpation against King George which may be easily answered. The heir died, and before his successor had attained manhood Tonga had become a united kingdom with a Constitution, and to give Vavau an independent government would have brought the whole fabric to the ground. But Tubou showed me on more than one occasion that he was uneasy about Finau's dying charge.

Taufaahau was now in reality an independent sovereign
of the joint kingdoms of Haapai and Vavau, and was free
to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Tui Kanokubolu or
not as he pleased. Under his influence the new religion 175
had been embraced by the people of Haapai and Vavau 797
with all the emotional zeal of new converts. In their 184
restless energy, and the ease with which enthusiasm or
suspicion may be excited in their minds, the Vavauans
are a race distinct from their neighbours of the southern
groups,—as distinct as the contrast between their moun-
tainous romantic island and the flat shores of Haapai and
Tongatabu. They may be violent partisans or bitter
enemies—they cannot be neutral. They are, in short,
the Irish of Tonga. It was not long before the mis- 175
sionaries, by awakening this curious quality of hysterical 797
enthusiasm, had established over them a clerical despot-

175 ism that made them independent of political changes.
797 But against the silent forces of inherited enmities in
175 Tongatabu, the legacy of years of civil war, Christian-
797 ity could make no headway. It was enough that Tubou
798 the king had accepted the white man's religion for
the chiefs averse to his rule to remain heathen. That
Tui Vakano had been converted was reason enough
for Lavaka, lord of Bea, to continue unregenerate. In
1835 the chief holding the title of Tui Vakano joined
the missionaries, and his people formally deprived him
175 of his title, and expelled him from their midst. Furious
797 at the treatment he had received, he reported that
798 the heathen party were determined to depose King
669 Tubou by force of arms. The Christians immediately
threw up intrenchments at Nukualofa, and thus precipitated the outbreak of hostilities. But a severe hurricane, that destroyed the food supplies, compelled both parties to remain inactive throughout 1836. At this juncture it is probable that the king might have averted war had he shown the least firmness or energy; but as he made no effort to win over the hostile party by diplomatic means, and the missionaries were powerless to quell the strife they had raised, civil war became inevitable.

In January 1837 the Christian party took up arms with the avowed object of suppressing a rebellion, and met a body of the heathen near Bea, defeating them. "The heathen party could put more fighting men into the field, and Tubou therefore sent to Taufaahau for reinforcements from Haapai. It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went

against the Crescent with greater zest than the new con- 175
verts showed in their quarrel with their heathen country- 797
men. By the middle of March the struggle was at an 798
end and peace was declared, but still neither party felt 669
safe outside of their intrenchments. The principal conditions imposed upon the heathen were that no person should be persecuted for his religion.

They did not long keep their undertaking. Both at 175
Hihifo and Bea the new converts were subjected to petty 797
annoyances that more than once drove them to arms 798
again, and goaded several to return to the gods of their forefathers. But the threatened renewal of civil war did not prevent the hostile parties from meeting on the
occasion of a great national festival. On the 14th of May [634]
1837, Tui Belehake, a chief of the family of the Tui Tonga,
married Charlotte, Taufaahau's daughter. At this mar- [622]
riage all the heathen chiefs attended and mixed with the Christian chiefs on friendly terms.[1]

One can sympathise with the feelings of the heathen 175
chiefs. The new religion, they saw, would soon destroy 797
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the little power that remained to them. It was introduced 628
by foreigners, and was being forced on them by their hered- 578
itary enemies of Haapai and Vavau, who made it an excuse for plundering their homes, just as they had done in their annual raids before the Christian religion had been

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[1] This event enables us to fix the king's age with some degree of proba- [643]
bility. Taking King George to have been twenty-five years old at the time of Charlotte's birth (for he had a son older than Charlotte), and her age at marriage to have been at least seventeen, King George must have
been born in 1797. Charlotte's grandson, Taufaahau, succeeded King [644]
George in March 1893. She died at Nukualofa in August 1891, after her return from exile for adherence to the Wesleyan Church.

175 even heard of among them. It was a foreign religion, and
797 it aimed at destroying their influence over their people
623 628 and substituting that of a foreigner; therefore they, as
578 Tongans, would resist it to the death.

175 In 1839 it was reported that a plot to assassinate the king
798 had been discovered. The storm-clouds were gathering
669 thick, but still they did not break. In January 1840 King Josiah Tubou paid a friendly visit to Ata in Hihifo, and some of Ata's followers took that opportunity for attacking and killing a party of Christians in their plantations. This outrage being a declaration of war, a strong party was at once despatched from Nukualofa to bring the king to a place of safety. The heathen party invested Fou'i, and Tubou, knowing that the fall of Fou'i would be the signal for an attack upon Nukualofa, sent a fast-sailing canoe to Haapai to implore Taufaahau's help. When he arrived it was arranged that he should meet the enemy and submit terms of peace to them. A deserter from the enemy met him on the way to the meeting, and warned him that a plot had been formed to shoot him from an ambush as soon as he reached the appointed place. He at once returned to Nukualofa, and advanced upon Hihifo with all his forces. After investing the place for nearly a fortnight he had recourse to a curious stratagem. When civil war breaks out in Tonga, it is the custom for each man to fight on the side of the people with whom he happened to be staying on the outbreak of hostilities. Thus brothers often find themselves ranged against one another. He now ordered such of his men as had relations or friends among the enemy to advance to the ditch and call upon his friend to desert, assuring him of safety. When this was done numbers of the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1840]

besieged jumped over the wall and joined the besiegers, 175 leaving the garrison too weak to resist. Hihifo thus yielded 798 without the loss of a single life, and Taufaahau, true to 669 his promise, spared the lives of the 500 prisoners who fell into his hands.

He now consented to take up his permanent quarters in [701] Nukualofa with his army of 900 men and their families. On April 20, 1840, an attack was made upon some stragglers near Nukualofa. The Christians were upon the point [177] of making reprisals when Commodore Wilkes of the United States exploring expedition arrived, and offered his services as mediator between the hostile parties. But his efforts were frustrated by a fresh attack by the heathen, and he left the island without effecting his object. Rightly 175 or wrongly, he formed the opinion that the missionaries 798 669 by their indiscriminating zeal had brought about the war, 797 and that King George Taufaahau was using the oppor- 643 tunity to so increase his prestige as to secure his succession to the office of the reigning king. Although the result of the war was the advancement of the interests both of King George and the missionaries, I see no reason to believe that either were disinclined for peace. The worst that can be said is that it was a missionary war, brought about by zeal untempered with discretion, and that in this respect only can the bloodshed be laid at the missionaries' door.

On the 21st May 1840 Captain Croker anchored at 175 Nukualofa in H.M.S. Favourite, and was appealed to by 177 the missionaries to help them out of their difficulties. He 798 669 landed half his ship's company, and advanced upon the fortress of Bea with three field-pieces. The guns were brought into position within range of the enemy's muskets,

[1840]

175 and Captain Croker entered the fort under a flag of truce. 177 The garrison were willing to listen to his terms, and he 778 left them with the understanding that they should have 669 half an hour to consult their allies. At the end of the time an English sailor, nicknamed Jimmy the Devil,[1] who was armourer to the heathen forces, appeared above the gate and asked for more time—indeed it afterwards transpired that they were upon the point of accepting the terms; but Captain Croker stood watch in hand, and upon the stroke of the half-hour he ran towards the gate crying, "Now, men, follow me." In the first volley from the fort he and several of his men were wounded, and as he leaned for support against a cocoa-nut-tree he was shot through the heart. Two of his officers were killed, and nineteen men wounded: the survivors succeeded with great difficulty in carrying off the injured, and they at once put to sea, taking with them the missionaries and their families. The field-pieces are still in the hands of the Tongans, and serve to keep green the memory of how they beat a British man-of-war.

The whole blame of this extraordinary incident, which has done so much to damage British prestige with the Tongans, must rest upon Captain Croker, who paid for his folly with his life. For becoming the aggressor in a quar-

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[1] There was more than one "Jimmy the Devil" in Tonga. A few months after the attack upon Bea, some of the blue-jackets were discussing the affair in a public-house in Sydney. A man sitting near, hearing the word Tonga, joined in the conversation, saying that he had been in the islands. "They called me 'Jimmy the Devil' down there," he added. The wretched man barely escaped from the blue-jackets with his life. They had mistaken him for the "Jimmy" who shot down their commander.

[1840-1845]

rel that did not concern him he may be excused—for, in the 175
excitement of the time, it is more than probable that the 177 798
missionaries greatly exaggerated their own danger, and 669
thus placed him in the position of a protector of British
interests; but for the gross incompetence and indiscretion
shown in leading the attack he must bear the sole responsibility.

The heathen party, having beaten off their assailants, 175
began to grow tired of the confinement of life within their 798
intrenchments, and readily accepted peace without the 669
imposition of terms on either side. The new converts, 175
with the doctrine of universal love ringing in their ears, 797
were now to learn something of Christian hate, and, to do 798
them justice, they made very apt pupils. In 1842 some
Roman Catholic priests landed and joined the heathen at
Bea, among whom they had as much right to be as the
Methodist missionaries who had failed to convert them.
The mutual recriminations of the rival teachers could not
leave their followers unaffected. Religious differences
among natives, fostered as they always are by their
spiritual guides, invariably lead to political troubles.
The heathen chiefs now asserted that they had a right [669]
to be independent, and that they would give asylum to [643]
any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the king.
The priests had set their followers in the road that
leads to civil war, and for the misfortunes that overtook
them they had only themselves to thank.

On November 14, 1845, King Josiah Tubou died. On 175
his deathbed he summoned Tungi, the representative of 643
the Tui Haatakalaua and the principal heathen chief, and 634
charged him to regard George Taufaahau as his succes-

[1845 - 1847]

175 sor. Perhaps his dying wishes would have failed to out-
643 weigh the claims of a competitor possessing higher influ-
[634] ence with the chiefs whose duty it is to elect the member
of the reigning family best fitted to succeed, but there was
no such competitor. The two chiefs who had the nearest
claims were Mumui, and Maafu, King Josiah's son; but
as Tubou-toa's son and Tukuaho's grandson, Taufaahau's
rights were unquestioned.

George Taufaahau went through the usual native form of disclaiming any desire to succeed; but resistance to the proffered honour is expected of every candidate. On December 4, 1845, the chiefs from all parts of the kingdom assembled in the time-honoured grove at Pangai in Hihifo, under the hoary *toa*-trees that had seen the royal cup placed in the hands of Ngata and his successors in lineal descent for two centuries, and whose roots had been watered with the blood of the avengers of the murdered Tukuaho in the great rebellion of 1799. The state kava-ring was formed; the two hereditary king-makers took their seats on either side of the king-elect; the kava was poured into the cup; the presiding *matabule* proclaimed that this was the kava of Taliai-Tubou, Tui Kanokubolu. George Taufaahau, the warrior, the chief of Haapai and Vavau, was no more; and George Tubou, the champion of the new faith, reigned over all Tonga as his fathers had reigned before him.

King George Tubou, as he will now be called, spent the
175 first years of his reign in cementing his authority. Signs
643 were not wanting that the heathen party had not accepted
669 the new order of things. In 1847 he decided to remove
798 his Court from Nukualofa to Haapai, as a warning to such
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[1847 - 1852]

of the chiefs of Tongatabu who had failed in their respect towards him. He left Tongatabu under the government of the two Hahavea chiefs,—Maafu and Lavaka of Bea,—making them responsible for the maintenance of peace. They, in common with the other chiefs, had taken a pledge not to repair the fortifications of any of the fortresses, and to punish the first chief who should dare to disturb the peace. But as soon as he had left the island they lost no time in repairing the earthworks of Bea. When the news reached the king, he returned to Tonga in a fleet of war-canoes, and summoned the accused chiefs to his presence. They strenuously denied the charge of sedition, and renewed their assurances of loyalty. But the king had scarcely returned to Haapai when they began again to annoy their more loyal neighbours, hoping to goad them into open resistance. The chiefs now petitioned the king to return to Nukualofa, and in July 1851 he acceded to their request. The rebel chiefs now showed their intentions more clearly. They refused to meet the king, and declared their intention of separating themselves from his Government. They had with them some French priests, who have been accused of encouraging them in their resistance. In February 1852 the works of Bea were hurriedly restored, and a collision became inevitable. The quarrel was again a question of the new religion. The heathen had for a time been allowed to follow their own inclinations; but in 1850 Tungi, the son of Maealiuaki, the most influential of their party, joined the Christians, and they saw that they must either follow his example and surrender their influence, or take up arms in the defence of their in-

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[1852]

175 dependence. They were the more ready to adopt the
643 latter alternative since the priests pointed out to them
798 that they would be surrendering not to King George—
669
622 that they had already done—but to the English missionaries,
who had become his Ministers of State as well as of the Gospel.

175 Before finally taking the field, the king made an effort
643 to induce the priests to leave the rebels—for his foresight
797 told him that any injury they might sustain would afford
669 a pretext for the demands of a foreign Power for indemnity.
They refused, however, to leave the fort, probably feeling that the desertion of their friends on the approach of danger would destroy their prestige beyond repair. The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.

175 On March 1st the king distributed muskets among his
643 chiefs, and formally declared war. After two slight skirmishes,
669 a pitched battle was fought near Bea, with considerable
[713] loss on both sides, but without decisive result.
[725] On the 14th the Roman Catholic Bishop of Samoa arrived
[177] in a French ship-of-war to inquire into the cause of the
[797] war, and left again with the avowed intention of bringing
[701] help for the beleaguered priests from Tahiti. On the 12th
of April the king closely invested Bea, by throwing up four earthworks at different points of the fortification, garrisoning them with a total force of 10,000 men. He

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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[1852]

might probably have taken the place by assault, but for 175
some reason he hesitated from day to day in the hope that 643 669
the enemy would themselves sue for peace.

Houma meanwhile had resisted all Ata's efforts to carry
it by storm, and the king's troops were driven to try the
expedient of starving the garrison into submission. Early
in July the Houma people sued for peace, and received
the king's pardon, sitting before him with *ici*-leaves, emblematic
of submission, hanging from their necks. Five
weeks later a large ship was reported off the anchorage,
and the king, supposing it to be the help promised to the
enemy from Tahiti, prepared to assault Bea before the
French should have time to interfere. But she proved [177]
to be H.M.S. Calliope, commanded by Sir Everard Home,
who offered his services to the king as mediator with
his enemies. Terms were again sent to the enemy by [728]
four chiefs of high rank,—that the lives of the entire
garrison should be spared, on the condition that the fort
should be given over to pillage and destruction. But the
enemy distrusted the faith of the king's troops, and asked
for one of the missionaries and the king's son as hostages
for their safety. To this the king would not consent, and 175
the negotiations threatened to break down when news 643
reached Nukualofa that the principal chiefs had left the 669 727
fortress, and that the royal forces were sacking the place.
The king, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, set off for
Bea in hot haste, and traversed the four intervening miles
almost at a run. They arrived just in time to prevent
the victors, drunken with the excitement of rapine, from
proceeding to outrage. The town was in flames, and the
priests were threatened with rough treatment. By the

[1852]

175 king's efforts they were removed to a place of safety, and
643 their property was dragged out of their burning houses.
669 Lavaka, Maafu, and Tubouleva were pardoned, and they
[727] forthwith renounced both heathenism and the Christianity
[797] of the Roman Church, which the Protestant chronicler
[798] naïvely classes together. Thus ended the second Wesleyan
[797] crusade, and Protestantism, sustained by the musket
and the club, was again triumphant.

175 In the following November the long-expected help from
177 Tahiti arrived in the person of Captain Belland of the
643 Imperial frigate Moselle. A formal inquiry was held to investigate the charges brought by the priests and the captain of a French whaler; and the French commander, while acquitting the king of responsibility for any injury sustained by the priests, warned him against allowing his zeal to blind him to the right of his subjects to entire freedom of conscience. In closing the inquiry he said to the interpreter, "Tell him that I have known many chiefs in the South Seas, but I have never met his equal."

175 Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George had
643 now the leisure to consider his long-cherished scheme of travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country would have been different, but he was reserved for higher
175 things. His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new
643 kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The number
648 of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing
669 menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief
167 might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in

[1848]

arms, and return to Tonga as an invader. The only safeguard 175
against this was to set a chief over them who would 643
find an outlet for their restless energy in Fiji itself. Fiji 648
would be, moreover, a vent for the disaffection of a number 669
of his own subjects, who would be glad enough to 167
become exiles with the brilliant prospect of conquest and
booty before them. The man lay ready to hand. Maafu, 175
the son of his predecessor, had all the qualities for a leader 648
of such an expedition. He had, besides, a strong claim to 721
the succession, and would be made the figurehead of any [669
rebellion that might be launched against the throne by 644]
the heathen party. An expedition was soon fitted out,
and early in 1848 Maafu, at the head of a strong and
numerous following, set sail for Lakemba. During the
next five years he fought his way into the supremacy of
the whole of the Lau group, wresting the power from the
hands of Tui Nayau, and vesting the lands in his principal
followers. Maafu, accustomed to the Tongan system of 175
land tenure, did for Fiji what the British Government 648
has never had the courage to do. He cut the Gordian
knot of boundary disputes by dividing out the communal
lands into small individual holdings, and securing them
to the grantees with a strong hand. He did not, moreover,
allow his Fijian subjects to alienate an inch of
land to Europeans except on lease. He was a student
of history. Asked by what right he divided the lands
of the Fijians, he replied sardonically, "I am King
William—William the Conqueror!" Having established 175
settled government upon the Tongan model, he turned 648 721
his eyes westward, and threatened the powerful chieftaincies
of Bau, Thakaundrove, and Mathuata. The cession

[1853]

175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he
became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1880.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George em-
643 barked for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England.
The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the
largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring
her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped
that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was
become a terror throughout the group, would cow his
enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the police-
177 men. One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers
had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and
he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a
status in the country that would sooner or later affect his
own independence. He now found that in Sydney land
could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the
hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of
Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and
he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
797

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[1853]

ings which he had so long rejected, and he then made 175
his preparations for the visit he had promised. His fleet 643
consisted of thirty sail of double canoes, manned by many 648
hundreds of warriors. He had no intention of joining in [797]
any of the local wars, but he knew the necessity of being [701]
independent of the protection of his host, whose power, [501]
he knew, was not undisputed. From Moturiki he despatched a canoe to Ovalau, commanded by Tavake, one of his own relations. Before the canoe could reach the shore it was fired upon by the natives, who were at the time in alliance with Ratu Mara, Thakombau's revolted brother. Tavake was killed, and the canoe hastened back to the king with the news. The murderer could not be captured without a general attack upon Ovalau and a war with the whites, who sided with Mara, and would not surrender the murderer to any ally of Thakombau.
King George therefore resolved to join Thakombau in an 175
attack upon the fortress of Kamba on the mainland, where 643
the enemy were massed in force. Thakombau's fortunes 648
were now at the lowest ebb. If he failed in reducing 721
Kamba, his fate was sealed. His enemies had hemmed him in; his vassals had revolted; even his own town, filled with his own relations, was against him, and in open communication with the enemy. His conversion to Christianity had alienated many of those who still clung to him, and his only hope lay in his Tongan allies.

On the 7th of April 1853 the allied armies landed on the peninsula. A party of Tongans was despatched to reconnoitre the fort, and they had scarcely left the main body when news came that they were engaged with the enemy. The rest of the Tongans advanced to the attack,

[1853]

175 dashed against the stockade, and after a few minutes'
643 hand-to-hand fighting the enemy were in full flight, and
648 Kamba, invincible to Fijian methods of warfare, was in
721 flames. None of their Fijian allies appeared until the
looting had begun. With the fall of Kamba the heart of
Mara's rebellion was crushed, and Thakombau recovered
his prestige. Had King George failed him, Bau would
have fallen, and the cession of the country to England,
which Thakombau brought about, might never have taken
175 place. Before leaving the group, King George made a tour
643 through some of the heathen islands to urge upon the
648 chiefs the adoption of Christianity. Traces of this ex-
[797] pedition may still be seen in the wavy seal-like hair of
some of the natives of Kandavu and Vatulele, who were
born shortly after the departure of the Tongans.

175 After settling the policy to be adopted by Maafu in
643 Lau, the king set sail for Tonga. He found the Governor
648 of Tahiti, M. du Bouzet, awaiting his return with a treaty
797 ready for his signature, which was so worded as to give
the French priests the fullest liberty of action. It was
then the policy of the Empire, as it is now of the Re-
public, to lend the Church the powers of the State abroad
while ignoring her claims at home.

175 To this point, in spite of the bloodshed the introduction
797 of Christianity had cost, the missionaries' influence had
642 been for good; but from the king's return from Fiji they
177 felt their position to be secure, and they began to abuse
178 their power by meddling in the affairs of the State. They
were burning with a desire for radical reform: they panted
to see their flock enjoying the sweets of constitutional
government. Mr St Julian, the King of Hawaii's Mayor

[1853-1862]

of the Palace, having persuaded his own patron to bow 175
down before the freedom-god, wrote a flattering letter to 797
the Tongan missionaries to enlist them in the same holy 642 177
cause. The king, to his credit be it said, long resisted, ob- 178
jecting that his people were not ready for such reforms; [643]
that, though in Sydney it might be well to curtail the power of the chiefs, the Tongans would use their new liberty for the indulgence of their natural idleness. But in 1862 he was over persuaded, and a Constitution was granted which swept away the form of government which had taken centuries to elaborate, and substituted executive machinery on the English plan. A system evolved from centuries of experiment to suit the needs of Anglo-Saxons was forced in a single day upon a handful of ignorant Orientals, with whose inborn convictions it was in complete antagonism. The *Konisitutone* became thenceforth the fetish of the Tongan people. Most of them did not know what it was, but it had been introduced by the missionaries, and was intimately connected, they believed, with its outlandish fellow *Konisienisi* (Conscience), and in some mysterious way it elevated their country to the
level of one of the Great Powers. It was not until after [622]
the feasting and the speech-making and the ecstatic ser- [565]
mons of the black-coated missionaries that the chiefs had time to realise that they had sold their birthright for a sheet of vellum, and that their power was gone. It was a heavy price to pay for being *sivilaisi*.

The power of the missionaries was now at its height. 175
The king had no other advisers, and it was natural that he 797
should rely upon them. The early indifference to their [643]
teachings had given place to an almost hysterical en- [645]

175 thusiasm. They had scarcely to ask for contributions—
797 the emulation among their congregations filled the mission
oil-tanks—and they, too, began to be astonished at their
[645] own moderation. As the king's advisers they now began
[177] to dabble in politics. They designed a Royal Standard
[178] with doves and crossed swords, and other un-Polynesian
[291] devices; they ordered a Crown and a Great Seal, they
[714] taught the officers of State to pace the beach in English military uniforms; they encouraged the women to disfigure themselves with bonnets and European dress. They had laboured hard, and if they now complacently accepted the blind adoration of their flock, it was but human nature.

But there was one among the new converts who was less blind than his teachers. One of the missionaries was leaving the group, and the villages for miles round assembled to take leave of him. A vast pile of mats, cloth, and other native property was heaped up before the smiling clergyman: the excitement was hysterical. Tungi, the latest convert, was curiously watching the scene with a companion by his side. "Uiliame," he said, "do you remember how they treated Mr—— when he came, how they stole his things and insulted him, and do you see them now? They are dying of love for him, Uiliame; yet I think that you and I will live to see the time when their love will be turned into hate. This will not last for long, Uiliame; their minds are too hot." Uiliame remembered these words twenty years later, when he saw an angry crowd assembled outside the mission-house demanding the bodies of the native Wesleyans who had taken refuge there, and he told the story as a proof of

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Tungi's wisdom. But the missionaries had no misgivings. 175 797 They had learned the fickleness of their people by bitter experience, but in the days of their apotheosis they forgot the law of reaction.

The first cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. For some years the contributions exceeded the needs of the Church in Tonga, and the people asked that the surplus might be spent among them, instead of being swallowed up by impecunious missions in other lands. The hesitation of the Wesleyan Conference in Australia in granting this very reasonable request gave birth to a desire for ecclesiastical self-government. The ignorant but self-effacing missionaries of the early days had made way for a very different stamp of man, not less ignorant, perhaps, but far better versed in the affairs of the world. The modern missionary was not called to the post owing to any inward conviction: he took up the work as he would any other profession, and he aimed at the aggrandisement of the Church of which he was a member, rather than the ultimate good of the people committed to his care. He saw that the moving spirit of the Tongan mind [181] was display and emulation, and he skilfully adapted it to [156] the needs of the collection-plate. The chairman was now Mr Baker, a plausible and not over-scrupulous man, half-educated, but possessed of considerable knowledge of the world. Little by little he brought the king to look to 175 him for advice in secular matters. The secret of his 797 influence was the king's fear of losing his independence. 643 Mr Baker worked upon this fear, representing England as only waiting for an opportunity to seize the country as she had done in Fiji. It was only by following his advice

[1876]

175 that these nefarious designs could be frustrated. He now
797 began to play into the hands of Germany, thinking that
643 he would flatter the king by negotiating a treaty with one
175 of the Great Powers. He approached the German Consul-
797 General in Samoa, and found him ready to treat with him
648 for a fair price—namely, the cession of a coaling-station
in the unequalled harbour of Vavau. On the 1st of November 1876 the native plenipotentiaries, with their reverend interpreter, proceeded to a German ship-of-war to sign the treaty that had been prepared for them. It was read, and when the passage about the coaling-station was reached Tungi objected that he would like to consult the king before signing such a clause, but the German commander sternly told him that it was all settled, and that it was too late to withdraw. So the treaty was signed, and the coaling-station ceded "without prejudice to the rights of sovereignty of the King of Tonga," and the "interpreter" received a decoration from the Emperor of Germany for the trouble he had taken in the matter.

I have now brought this sketch to the point of the
128 establishment of the Free Church, whence I have traced it in the opening chapters of this volume. For those who have heard of King George only as a persecutor, or as a sovereign ruled by his own Minister, owe it to themselves and to his memory to give at least an equal prominence in their minds to the story of his early career.

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APPENDIX.

I.—LIST OF THE TUI TONGA.

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(As given by Mr E. Tregear on the authority of the Rev. J. E. Moulton.)

Kohai and his descendants.
Then these were dispossessed, and there came to rule—
Ahoeitu, descendant of Tangaloa.
Lolo Fakanga-la.
Fanga-one-one.
Lihau.
5 **Kofu-tu.**
Kaloa.
Mauhau.
Abuakea.
Ahulunga.
10 **Momo.**
Tuitatui.
Talatama.
Tui-tonga-nui-tama-tou.
Tala-hala-abeabe, his brother.
15 **Tala-kai-fai-ki.**
Tala-fabi-te.

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173 Havea-tui-tonga (Makaue tui-tonga i buibui).
643 Tata-fuu-eiki-mei-nua (Lomi ae tubu Havea).
● 175 Takalaua (murdered, *circa* 1535).
20 Kau-ulu-fonua Fekai.
Vaka Fuhu.
Buibui Fata.
Kau-ulu-fonua.
Tabuoji (flourished 1643, and entertained Tasman).
25 Uluaki Matatelea.
Fatafehi.
Uluaki Matata.
Tui Bulotulua.
Bau (who entertained Cook, 1777).
30 Maulubekotofa.
Fatafehi Fuanu Nuiava.
Laufilitonga.

175
177
[113]

II.—TRANSLATION of EXTRACTS from the 'Journal of the Wonderful Voyage made by W. Cornelis Schouten of Hoorn, 1615-17, in the ship Eendracht (Unity)': 1648, Hoorn (with Plates), relating to the discovery of Niua-tobutabu and Futuna.

May.—On the 9th we were in latitude 15° 20′, and by reckoning 1510 miles from the coast of Peru and Chili. At noon, just after dinner, we saw a sail, which seemed to be coming towards us from the southward. As she came near to us we shot at her with one of our pieces right over her to make them strike, but they would not; so then we lowered our boat with ten small-arms men in her to catch them, which, calling to them, we shot another piece, yet without any intent to reach or hurt them, but they would not strike.

[1616]

When at about half a musket-shot's distance from them our 175
men fired four times at them. Some jumped into the water, 177
one of them with a small child. We hauled one out of the
water, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his back,
but not very deep, for it was hail-shot. In our vessel we secured
two men who had overstayed on board the canoe, they not once
resisting, for in truth they had no arms. One was an old and
grey man, the other was a youth.

Presently the shallop rowed to fetch those that leapt overboard to save their lives; but they got only two of them that drove upon one of their oars, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much as to say that the rest were drowned.

In the canoe were eight women with three young sucking [501]
children, and some were about ten years old, so that altogether
there may have been about twenty-five people in the canoe.

Towards evening we put the men aboard again, and they were
much welcomed by their women. We gave them some beads,
which they hung about their necks, and some knives. And to
us they presented two fine mats and two cocoa-nuts, which were
all they had to eat and drink. In fact they had drunk all the
water of the nuts, so that there remained nothing more to them
to drink. We saw them drink salt water out of the sea, and
give it also to their young children to drink, which we thought
to be against nature. They were reddish people, and had [142]
certain clothes of a yellowish colour which they wore before [291]
their persons. They were smeared with oil, and the women had [302]
all short hair, like the men in Holland. The men's hair was
long and frizzed, and very black.

Their vessel was fashioned as shown in the drawing—very 175
remarkable to see—and consisted of two long canoes covered 501
by a good broad table. Along each canoe were laid two wide
planks, about the midship portion, to keep out the water; and
at either end timbers were laid crosswise from the one hull to
the other, securely lashed, and the ends were also decked over
in a watertight fashion. [Further description of mast and steer- 175
177

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[1616]

175
177 ing-gear.] As they departed from us they set their course towards the south-east, in the hopes of picking up some of the others, who were good swimmers.

On the 10*th* the wind was S.S.-easterly, veering from S.E. to S. The course was W. and S.W.; and in the morning, after breakfast, we saw [on the horizon?] some very high and blue-looking land lying between S.E. and S., about eight miles from us. We sailed all day towards it with a light air, but were unable to get within reach, so stood off and on for the night; and towards evening we saw a sail a good way out off the land, and shortly after another one, which we took to be fishing craft, because they put to sea at night time and used torches.

133 *On the* 11*th* we arrived by mid-day at an island which was very high; and about two miles beyond it we saw another island, long and low. During the day we sailed over a bank with fourteen fathoms water on it, rocky bottom, lying about two miles off the land. As soon as we had passed over it we were unable again to get soundings. We anchored in twenty-five fathoms, sandy bottom, a long shot from the shore of the farther island.

[137] The island is a high mountain, shaped nearly like one of the Moluccas, and is covered with timber, mostly cocoa-nut palms, wherefore we called it Cocos Island.

The other island is much longer, but narrower, and lies east and west. . . .

175
177 [Intercourse with the people followed readily, and great numbers swarmed on board the ship. They traded freely, and sold 180 cocoa-nuts by evening, at the rate of 5 nuts for a few beads.]

[411] Canoes from the other island came off to the ship. The natives had hardwood staves in their hands like assegais. They boarded our shallop, and thought to have taken it from us; but our men being thereby constrained to defend themselves, let fly three muskets among them. At first they thought this was child's play; but the third shot struck one of them in the

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried 175
to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been 177
well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly de- [181]
sirous of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They [141]
were of fine stature, well proportioned, naked but for an apron. [291]
Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied [302]
up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island [481]
lies in lat. 16° 10′. [131]

On the 12th, in the morning, trading was reopened. We
bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some
water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and
every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent [136]
a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the after- 175
noon the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned 177
as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was ac- 622
companied by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was
called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums [534]
and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen
or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who [609]
accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping
their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13*th*.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an
armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to
trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the [501]
former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to
the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the
chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great 175 177
force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began 622

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[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title 609
Ratu.

175 to sling stones at us; but we shot at them with muskets and
177 three great pieces loaded with nails, whereat they leaped overboard,
622 not knowing whither to go. But we continued our course,
609 sailing W. and W. by S. This king must have assembled all
[142] his forces, for we were surrounded by quite 1000 people afloat,
of whom one we noticed was wholly white.

The first island—the high one—we called Cocos bergh, and to the other, about a mile from it, we gave the name of Verraders Eylandt, because the people from it sought to betray us.

[Discovery of Niuafoou.]

14*th*.—This morning we saw another island right ahead of us,
175 about seven miles distant, appearing as if round in form, and by
177 our reckoning about fifty miles from the islands we had left.
We named this one "Hope" and hurried towards it, in the hope that we might find better facilities for watering there than we had hitherto.

. . . The soundings were irregular, forty, twenty, thirty fathoms, and no bottom. . . . Twelve canoes came off: were friendly. They gave us four flying-fish, and we gave them beads. Sent the boat along shore for water: some jumped overboard from canoes to capture the boat, which seeing, we fired six musket-shots at them, and two were killed, one shot dead, while the other sat in the canoe wiping the blood from his chest with his hand. They could not understand the shooting, for they saw no missile. The people on shore cried out *Bou! bou! bou!* So did people in the canoes. Finding no anchorage, we got our boat in and went on our course, in the hope of soon finding other land, to the S.W.

[133] The island was full of black cliffs, green on the top, and
[137] black, and was full of cocos-trees and black earth. There
[361] was a large village and several other houses on the sea-shore:
the land was undulating, but not very high. We called it Good Hope, because we had had good hope of refreshing there.

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[1616]

15*th.*—At noon we were in 86° 12′ [misprint for 16° 12′]: 175
the wind being S.E., course W. and W. by S., fine weather. 177

17*th.*—Wind N.E., course W. by S., but the two last quarters we set our course W.N.W. Short of provisions.

18*th.*—In 16° 5′ we had variable westerly winds.

[On this day Schouten reviewed his position and prospects, 000
and spoke to his crew, pointing out the shortness of food, and the impossibility of returning eastwards. The Terra Australis, of which they were in search, had not appeared, though they were 1600 miles to the westward of the coast of Peru. It remained only to steer more northerly and make for the Moluccas, braving the dangers of the New Guinea navigation, and making the best of their ill luck. The course was therefore altered to N.N.W.]

[Discovery of Futuna.]

19*th.*—Southerly wind. Course N. In the afternoon saw 175
three islands to the N.E. by E., eight miles distant, and appar- 177
ently a cannon-shot from each other. Made for them, sailing N.E., with fine weather, but fresh.

20*th.*—Wind N.N.E.

21*st.*—Wind easterly. When one mile from the land twenty
canoes came out to us. We proffered friendliness, but one [411]
with a very sharp wooden spear in his hand threatened one of our men, and the people from the next island were shouting, as we took it, to urge them against us. Fired two cannon-shots. Sent boat out to sound, but got no bottom, eight small-arms men in her. A fight ensued, and six were killed. Stood off and on all night.

22*d.*—Sent the boat in to sound again, and got anchorage in thirty-five fathoms, a gun-shot from shore. The Captain went in the boat and got a convenient place for the ship to moor in, close
to a fresh-water creek inside the reef. Canoes came and brought [262]
cocoa-nuts, and *obas*, and two roast pigs. We paid them in

[1616]

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hostages
177 on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[181] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[342] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts
along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and
12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of
the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony.
Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and
were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

SUMMARY AS TO THE PLATES REPRODUCED IN THE TEXT.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea, off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just out of sight to their S.W.

[501] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they
sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to
[131] reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands:
lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the
natives. The chief's name was *Latou.*

175 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several sub-
177 jects described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs
291 are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are in-
301
302 troduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of head-
342 dress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the
344 drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside
622 of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are
276 making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once.
609 The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as
516 types of dwellings.
142
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[1616]

Explanation of Plate on p. 311.

A. Meeting of the two chiefs, welcoming one another with remarkable ceremony. 609 175 177 [622]

B. The same two chiefs sitting in state together on two mats under a thatched shed. [516] [344]

C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the chiefs, from which they derived great satisfaction (or took as a great compliment).

D. Commoners chewing a green root called by them kava. When it is chewed up water is added to it, and thus a drink is made from it, which is greatly esteemed by them. [276]

E. Shows the fashion of the houses. They are round and pointed, and covered with thatch. [342]

F. Shows the costume of a chief, and coiffure. [291] [301]

G G. Shows the plaits of hair worn by chiefs. [302] [622]

H. Shows an instance of frizzed hair. [142]

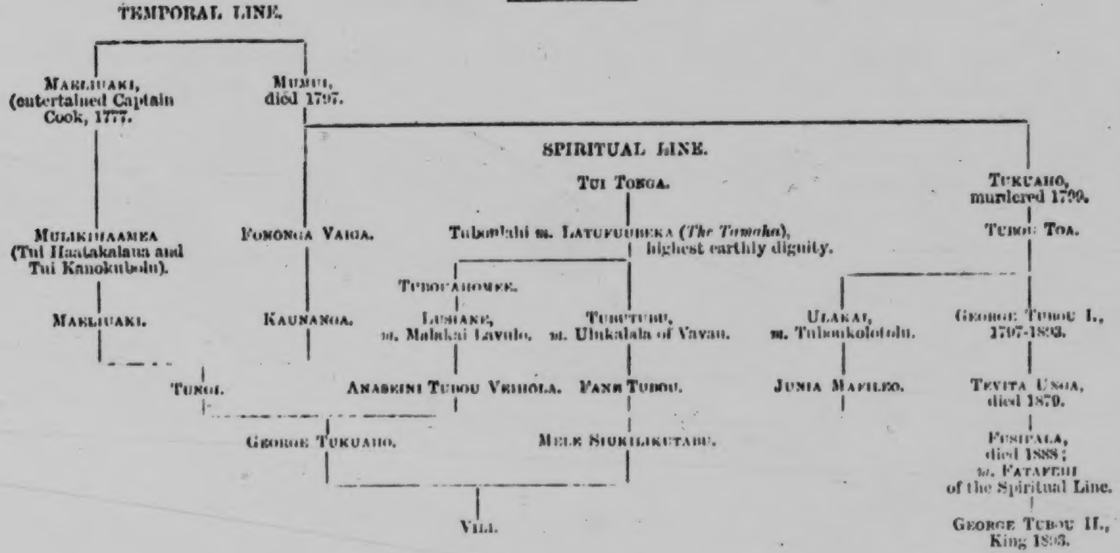
I. Another, whose hair stands up stiff like the bristles of a pig, more than a quarter of an ell long. [302]

K. Shows how the women wear their hair cut short. [302]

L. Are cocoa-nut palms. [137]

[APPENDIX III.

III.—TABLE SHOWING GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS NEAREST TO THE THRONE OF TONGA.


TEMPORAL LINE.
Maealiuaki, (entertained Captain Cook, 1777.
Mumui, died 1797.
Mulikihaamea (Tui Haatakalaua and Tui Kanokubolu).
Maealiuaki.
Tungi.
Fononga Vaiga.
Kaunanga.
George Tukuaho.
Vili.
SPIRITUAL LINE.
Tui Tonga.
Tubomlahi m. Latufuubeka (*The Tamaha*), highest earthly dignity.
Tubouahomee.
Lusiane, m. Malakai Lavulo.
Anaseini Tubou Vekiola.
Tubotubu, m. Ulukalala of Vavau.
Fane Tubou.
Mele Siuikilikutabu.
Tukuaho, murdered 1799.
Tubou Toa.
Ulakai, m. Tuboukolotolu.
Junia Mafileo.
George Tubou I., 1797-1893.
Tevita Unga, died 1879.
Fusipala, died 1888; m. Fatafehi of the Spiritual Line.
George Tubou II., King 1893.

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digression. At any other time his excursions 648
would have been interesting, for, untrained as 643
he is, he possesses the historical and literary
instinct, and he can tell a good story. I think 191
that it was while we were discussing the relative
merits of the Tongan synonyms for the word
Protectorate that he suddenly inquired my opinion
upon the close connection between the Tongan
and Hebrew tongues. I hastened to turn the
subject, assuring him that I had never thought
about the matter, for that hoary folly of the
Ten Lost Tribes was in the air; but he said
that it was his own discovery. Someone had
given him a Hebrew book to look at, and in
one page he had found no less than six Tongan
words. He quoted the conjunction *kacuma'a*,
which, he said, occurred in both languages with
the same meaning. On another occasion he 643
brought out the piece of hand-made red cloth 431
which I was to take home as a present to the 648
Queen. This had been given by Captain Cook [175]
to the Tamahá, the noblest lady in the land, and
had been preserved by the family of the Tui
Haatéiho. It was a large piece of hand-made
woollen cloth, rather loosely woven and of a
rusty red colour, with a black selvedge edge,
and it smelt strongly of sandalwood oil, having

648 been worn on great occasions by chiefs anointed
643 with that precious essence. It is now, I believe,
431 among the curiosities in the royal collection at
175 Windsor Castle. He then told me some native
177 traditions of Cook's visit. When the vessels
829 were seen approaching Hihifo in 1773 there was
a heated discussion among the Tongans as to
whence they came. The king mimicked the
querulous intonation of the old Tongans very
funnily. "Whence come they?" said one.
"Seuke!" exclaimed the old chief, Eikinaba, a
noted wit in his day, "why, from the land of
riches—from Babalangi!" (or, as we might say,
from Brobdignag), and the nickname Babalangi
has stuck to Europeans ever since. *Ba-ki-langi*
("shooting up to heaven") is the derivation which
Fatafehi favours, meaning that the ships' masts
reached to the sky. When the Tongans boarded
the *Resolution*, the same chief, Eikinaba, noticed
a strange yam on the deck and picked it up.
"I *give* you that," said Tute (Cook), and from
that day this kind of yam was called the *Kivi*.
[241] Favoured perhaps by the cooler climate and the
new soil, this yam has grown to colossal dimensions. Cook had probably brought it from
Rarotonga, or from Tahiti.

563 Of the number of curious petitions to which I

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776 She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me. [821]

[171] Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jinilau has been mentioned above.

776 825 773 The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god, Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of [481] Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-koloa and Tama-tangkia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanua (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in 776 the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a 773 reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to 823 leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two [821] rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

776 Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, [825] or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically [175] interesting as being the island on which Bligh landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful [361] open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there within the memory of living men.

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This list differs from Dr. Moulton's in regarding as 173
indicating separate individuals several names which he re- 175
gards as alternative designations of the one king. It is
the list favoured by the Roman Catholic missionaries, who, 643
having secured the last Tui Tonga as a convert, were prob- 127
ably in a better position to obtain information about this [191]
ancient line than were their Methodist contemporaries.

It agrees in the number of generations, though not in all details, with a list published by the late King of Tonga, George Tubou II.[1] It is also, I believe, the list favoured by Mr. E. W. Gifford, who visited Tonga in connection with the Bayard Dominick expeditions of the Bishop Museum, and to whom I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging my obligations in this and in other matters. It agrees sufficiently closely, moreover, with what seems to be the most generally accepted number of generations in the Malietoa line in Samoa, which provides one of the most important external points of contact.

CHRONOLOGY.

Several dates are known with precision. Laufilitonga 175
closed the series in 1865. In 1777 Captain Cook met Pau, 643
whom he estimated to be about 40 years old. Pau is the
thirty-fifth, Laufilitonga the thirty-eighth, and consequently 179
the reigns of four kings covered something over 88 years, and the average reign cannot be less than 22 years. Captain Cook enables us also to fix with a fair degree of probability the date of an earlier king. He found that the remembrance of Tasman's visit in 1643 was still preserved, and was informed that Pau, or Paulaho, was the fifth king since Tasman's arrival. Cook calls the kings the Futtafaihe (now spelt Fatafehi), and says: "The Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line for at least one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships... by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded down to

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[1] In the March, 1916, number of "Koe Fanogonogo," a little paper published by the Methodist Mission, which survived only a few issues. [113]

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175 Poulaho, who is the fifth since that period; the first being an old man, at the time of the arrival of the ships."[2]

643 173 This statement, apart from chronological considerations, lends some support to the supposition that the Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 was Fatafehi, and the same result is reached by counting back from Pau as the fifth king since that event. Fatafehi was an old man at the time of Tasman's visit, and presumably near the close of his life. From 1643 to 1777 there were five kings, including Pau, still in the prime of life. For this period, therefore, we get the high average of not less than 27 years for each reign. The result is the same if we reckon 1643 as approximately the year in which Uluakimata II., Fatafehi's successor, began to reign, and take the average for the eight kings down to, and including, Laufilitonga.[3]

In some lists there is included a name Tapuoji after Fatafehi, and if this be correct Tapuoji would be Tui Tonga [644] at the time of Tasman's visit. That there was a high chief named Tapuoji living in Tonga at this time is very probable, but I am of opinion that he was not the Tui Tonga, but a Fijian, the Tui Lakepa, married to the Female Tui Tonga, the Tui Tonga Fefine, and the progenitor of the lofty lineage of the Tama-ha (Sacred Child).

Another piece of chronological evidence is the association of Tala-kai-faiki, fifteenth on the list, with the conquest of Samoa, and his subsequent defeat at the hands of the first chiefs to bear the title of Malietoa. Concerning this war Tongan tradition is curiously silent. Repeated inquiries have evoked no glimmer of remembrance. Samoan tradition, on the contrary, is full and circumstantial. Dr. Augustin Krämer compares Samoan tradition of this war with German recollection of the French war under Melac, or the Thirty Years war.[4]

The genealogy of the Malietoa line approximately dates this important event, and writers on Samoa seem agreed in assigning it to about the year 1250.[5]

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[113] [2] The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the Word (John Tallis and Company, London and New York), Vol. II., p. 157.

[3] Compare Basil Thomson, Diversions of a Prime Minister, p. 306.

[113] [4] Die Samoa-Inseln I. Band, p. 259 (Stuttgart 1902).

[5] See A. Kramer, op. cit. I. Band, p. 254, S. Ella, J.P.S., Vol. VII., pp. 231-234.

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Fatafehi, the thirtieth king, an old man in 1643, is the 175
fifteenth after Talakaifaiki, who flourished about 1250. Be- 643
tween the two dates is a period of 393 years, and thus an 173
average reign of about 25 years is indicated.

Taking the three intervals thus dated by external evidence we seem to be justified in allowing 25 years for each Tui Tonga. This average is very high, and there is tradition, moreover, to the effect that the kings were frequently assassinated in the earlier period by aspirants to the throne, and there are exceptions to the general rule that the succession was from father to son. The dated periods, however, are sufficiently long to include, and allow for, some departures from the normal, and in the absence of definite evidence sufficient to warrant a shorter period being assumed, I accept provisionally 25 years as representing the average length of the reign of a Tui Tonga.

The beginning of the line, then, would be in the tenth century, say about 950. Bishop Blanc (P. Soane Malia), in his *Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique*, assumes the tenth century as a starting point for the Tui Tonga line, though he does not state his grounds.[6]

EARLY KINGS.

The first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, was the son of Eitumatu- 773
pua, the Lord of Heaven, and a mortal woman. Heaven was 643
not very distant, and the divine lover could visit his earthly bride by descending a great tree, standing on the island of Ata, whose head pierced the sky.

The names Ahoeitu, and Eitumatupua, both contain the [551]
word *eitu* god, spirit; and Eitumatupua contains also the word *tupua*, which is of kindred meaning,[7] but in spite of mythological elements in the tradition of the beginning of the kingship, the broad fact of a new dynasty having established itself during the tenth century is probably historical. Tradition speaks of a period before Ahoeitu, when 773
Tonga was peopled from a worm bred in the decayed root of a creeper, planted by one of the Tangaloa, Lords of Heaven. Then follows the visit of the Maui, who brought

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[6] P. Soane Malia, Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique, p. 87 (Emmanuel Vitte, Lyon, Paris, 1910). [113]

[7] A. M. Hocart, Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific, American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1915, p. 638. [113]

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773 wives from the Underworld for the men created by Tangaloa, and who also fished up certain islands. The Tangaloa and Maui myths are of course older than the settlement of any of the Polynesian peoples in their present habitats, but each of the peoples has doubtless woven some of its more recent history into its memory of the ancient common myths. It is interesting to note that in Tongan tradition the Maui get the hook from a chief of Manu'a, in Samoa, named Tonga, and that they come from thence to Tonga.

Dr. Kramer[8] says that the earliest kings of Manu'a
171 bore the title of *Tuimanu'a ma Samoa'atoa*, king of Manu'a
643 and All Samoa, and that "all" indicated, not only Samoa,
773 but surrounding islands as well, such as Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti, who all brought tribute to the Tui Manu'a. Especially prominent in the Samoan sagas is Fitiaumua, a great conqueror, who "was said to come from the east, was a great warrior, conquered at Fiji, and in his lust for conquest came to Samoa. He subdued all the leeward islands of the group, reached Manu'a and there he dwelt."[9]

An old saga mentions Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), and Safulusao (Haafuluhao or Vavau in the Tongan Group) as scenes of his warlike exploits.[10] Tongan-mamao is quite probably not the present Tonga, but Niua Fo'ou.

Dr. Kramer's conclusion from the Samoan evidence is
175 that by about the year 1100 the pre-eminence of Manu'a in Samoa had come to an end, and that, moreover, the active traffic that had subsisted between Samoa and the neighbouring groups was diminishing.[11]

A not improbable picture of this part of the Pacific about a thousand years ago seems to be a Polynesian people inhabiting Samoa, Tonga, part of Fiji, and scattered islands, such as Uvea, Niua Fo'ou, and Niua Toputapu. The whole of Fiji may have been occupied by the Polynesians. These people were perhaps more nearly homogeneous than the corresponding populations of to-day.

It is hardy credible that any chief could have acquired the real control of so wide an area, but a general recognition of overlordship by the payment of tribute, especially perhaps by the semi-religious presentation of first-fruits, is

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[8] A. Kramer, op. cit. Vol. I., p. 8.

[9] Turner, Samoa, p. 224 (Macmillan and Company, 1884).

[10] A. Kramer, op. cit. Vol. I., p. 436.

[11] A. Kramer op. cit. Vol. I., pp. 9-10.

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quite possible. The predominating influence was, for a time, 175 Manu'a, itself, perhaps, the seat of recently arrived, powerful invaders, but Polynesians like the people they found. 643 After a period of movement and readjustment more compact political groups emerge, and to the south-west power passes chiefly into the hands of the kings of the Tonga tribe, the Tui Tonga, who possibly had not long arrived from Samoa. The authority of the Tui Tonga was perhaps confined at first to the whole, or part, of the present Tongatabu, but was rapidly extended over kindred tribes in the adjoining islands. Although it seems fair to assume that the Tui Tonga was firmly established on his throne by the tenth century, the extent of his domains fluctuated, and his active interference in the affairs of his more distant possessions was probably not great, overlordship being sufficiently recognised by tribute, and especially by the *Inaji* or *Polopolo*, the first-fruits, whose presentation was of religious import, and by the performance of tasks at the behest of the king. Obviously the character of the king, and the circumstance of peace or war, would have a vital influence on the amount of local independence enjoyed by the various units of the island kingdom.

MONUMENTS AT HEKETA.

The seat of these ancient kings was at Heketa,[12] in the extreme eastern end of Tongatabu. Their lot was not always an enviable one. The throne was sometimes snatched by the hand of the assassin.[13]

TUI-TA-TUI.

Little is preserved about the Tui Tonga until we come to 173
Tui-ta-tui, in the thirteenth century; round whom cluster a 643
number of traditions. A trait of his personal appearance is 773
related. So massive was his head that by this feature the stranger might recognise him. Floating stories tend to become attached to well-known names, and scanty as are the legends associated with Tui-ta-tui, some, perhaps, do not

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[12] Near by is a place named Haa-Mene-uli, a name which attracted the attention of the late President of the Polynesian Society, but about which, unfortunately, very little information was obtainable.

[13] Although little is known with certainty about the early kings, and the manner of their death, yet the tradition that they were frequently assassinated recalls the slaying of Sacred Kings treated by Sir James Frazer in the "Golden Bough."

organisation, the sister of the Tui Tonga is of superior rank 644
to the king himself. She is called the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and would be normally the eldest daughter of the most chiefly wife of a Tui Tonga. Her dignity was held till death, so that, although I have called her the sister of the Tui Tonga, she might as a matter of fact belong to a different generation.

Of the sons of a Tui Tonga the one to succeed to the [643]
kingship would naturally be the eldest son of the highest chieftainess amongst his wives. Extant genealogies to not [173]
extend far enough to show very ancient practice. The Tui Tonga Fefine would be tabu to every Tongan man, and there is no direct evidence as to whom she actually did marry before the seventeenth century.[19]

Similarly, neither the genealogies nor tradition indicate [173]
who, in more remote times, was the lady, if any were specially reserved for the honour, who should bear a successor to the Tui Tonga. It is clear, however, that this privilege became the prerogative of the daughter of the Tui Haa-Takalaua, and later passed to a newer house, that of the Tui Kano-kupolu.

It will be convenient at this point to give a list of the 173
Tui Haa-Takalaua:— 643

1. Mounga-motua (brother of Kau-ulu-fonua fekai), c. 1470.
2. Taneki-tonga.
3. Vaea-ma-toka.
4. Jiu-langa-po.
5. Vaka-lahi-mohe-uli.
6. Mounga-tonga (who was the father of Ngata, the first Tui Kano-kupolu).
7. Fotofili c. 1650.
8. Vaea.
9. Moe-aki-ola.
10. Kafoa.

There is not complete unanimity in lists of the Tui Haa- [127]
Takalaua, but the discrepancies occur in the later generations, when the importance of the house had somewhat declined.

TAPUOJI.

In the first half of the seventeenth century we find the 644
first authentic account of the marriage of a Tui Tonga Fe- 175
fine, to a Fijian chief named Tapuoji, the Tui Lakepa

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[19] A story of Tala-kai-faiki's incest with the Tui Tonga Fefine is probably of no importance in this connection.

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644 (Lakemba in Fiji). Of this marriage sprang the Tama-ha
(Sacred Child), children of the Tui Tonga Fefine, the sum-
175 mit of Tongan society. After Tapuoji the scions of two
[565] houses connected with him, the Tui Lakepa, and the Tui
Haa-Teiho, were the husbands of the female Tui Tongas,
[784] and their families the Tama-ha. Although the connection of
the Tui Lakepa and the Tui Haa-Teiho, with Fiji soon be-
[609] came remote, yet the infusion of foreign blood gave them
foreignness sufficient to release them from a tabu that would
be binding on every pure-blooded Tongan man.[20]

THE TUI KANO-KUPOLU.

About the year 1650 Mounga-Tonga, the Tui Haa-Taka-
643 laua, made his son Ngata the chief of western Tongatabu,
173 with the title of Tui Kano-kupolu. Ngata was the son of a Samoan lady, Tohuia, the daughter of Ama of Safata. There is a little village in western Tongatabu called Kanokupolu, but the significance of the title is out of all proportion to the importance of its meaning of king of this hamlet. Tohuia, perhaps, brought great prestige with her. It is only in recent years that the express recognition of the connection of the Tui Kano-kupolu with the Tui Manu'a in Samoa has been discontinued. Kupolu is of course identical in form with Upolu, the second largest island of Samoa.

The successful inauguration of the Ngata line, with its great head, the Tui Kano-kupolu, probably signalised the bringing of western Tongatabu into more satisfactory political relations with the lords of eastern Tongatabu, the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Haa-Takalaua. The present Ata, the principal chief of the Haa Ngata, Tribe of Ngata, has told me that chiefs were sent before Ngata to Hihifo (the west), but were slain. Ngata made good his lordship over the westerners. Originally a delegate of the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa-Takalaua, the Tui Kano-kupolu has ended by acquiring the recognised sovereignty of the whole group.

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[114] [20] For the migration of the Tui Lakepa to Tonga see A. M. Hocart, Early Fijians pp. 44-46 (J.R.A.I. Vol. XLIX Jan. to June, 1919). The linguistic argument on p. 46 is, perhaps, too sweeping. There are traces of the article *te* in Tongan, and it is in use in Niua Fo'ou, where also is found an exclamation *pohopoho*, which recalls the Lauan *polopolo*. The case of Niua Fo'ou, however, does not affect Mr. Hocart's argument, but suggests its close linguistic, and ethnic, affinity with Lau.

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Examination of genealogies shows that Fotofili, the Tui 643 Haa-Takalaua and half-brother of Ngata, married a daughter of the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who was probably an 179 old man at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643, and that Fatafehi also married Fotofili's sister. About the middle of the seventeenth century, or a little earlier, would, therefore, seem to be the date of the commencement of the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship.

TUI TONGA MARRIAGES.

It has been already remarked that a daughter of the Tui 581 Haa-Takalaua used to be chosen to bear a successor to the 643 Tui Tonga. A few generations after the inauguration of the Tui Kanokupolu a very significant change occurs. The 175 third Tui Kano-kupolu, Mataele Tua-piko, Mataele Crook- [644] back, contracted a marriage with the Tamaha, Tuimala, the highest lady in the land. This marriage was probably both an effect as well as a cause of greatness. It may be dated about 1700, and henceforth the decline of the Tui Haa-Takalaua is manifest, and the mothers of the Tui Tongas are the daughters of the Tui Kano-kupolu. Gradually the decline of the Tui Tonga himself becomes more apparent. Cook was a witness of the great real power exercised by other chiefs, but he saw, too, the homage paid to the Tui Tonga.

DECLINE OF TUI TONGA.

William Mariner, who was in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, 643 relates an instance, not only of disregard of the Tui Tonga's temporal dignity, but of his sacred prestige also.[21]

It is evident that by the close of the eighteenth century there was working the leaven of a rationalism, which recognised, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest. The final catastrophe was hastened and determined by the [177 coming of the European and Christianity, but it is interesting to note that purely native forces were at work, which 797] would probably have led, sooner or later, to revolution.

Finau, whom Cook met, and with whom Mariner lived, 634 belongs to the junior branch of the Ngata tribe. He made good his claim to the sovereignty of Vavau, and bade fair

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[21] An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, by John Martin, Edinburgh, 1827. Vol. II., chapter II.

Charlotte Tupou who ascended the throne in 1918 following 643 the death of her father, King George II. Tupou. The present [175] ruler is from a line of chiefs that sprang into prominence in the 17th century as lords of the western portion of Tongatapu Island. The installation of each chief of this line in the office of Tui Kanokupolu (which title the present ruler of all Tonga still bears) took place under an ancient koka tree *(Bischoffia javanica)* against which the nominee sat. The new situation has been met by inlaying the back of the modern throne with a piece of wood from the installation tree.

At the coronation of Queen Charlotte Tupou in 1918, both European and Tongan ceremonies were conducted. The [276] essence of the latter was the calling of the monarch's new title when kava, the ceremonial beverage of Polynesia, was served. One of the names assumed by the modern Christian Tongan monarchs is Taliai Tupou*, the name of the patron deity of their forefathers.

Anciently the greatest honours were paid to the Tui Tonga, the highest of the Tongan chiefs and reputed descendant of the sky-god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. The office of Tui Tonga has not been filled since the death of Laufilitonga, the last incumbent, in 1865. The honours accorded him were transferred to the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I. Tupou, who thus became supreme ruler of Tonga.

The last Tui Tonga died a Roman Catholic. His old 643 capital is to-day a stronghold of Catholicism and the chief 795 who is heir to the office of Tui Tonga is a Catholic. To the Catholic Tongans the Pope is the Tui Tapu or Sacred King. 795

The head of the Free Church of Tonga, the aged Reverend J. B. Watkins, is the object of much respect and reverence. When the writer was on the island of Lifuka, in Haapai, the middle province of Tonga, in 1920, Mr. Watkins came there while engaged in his annual tour of the kingdom. At the beach a delegation of black-frocked Tongan ministers lifted him, boat and all, from the water and carried him inland. For two days people streamed to the erstwhile residence of Mr. Watkins with offerings of food. I say "offerings" instead of "presents" because that term seems better

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* Tupou, not Taliai Tupou, is the royal name, and seems to be ancient as a name of the Tui Kanokupolu.—Ed.

132 temperatures 5° to 10° lower, and rainfalls 25 per cent to 50 per cent smaller. Except in the Niuas, hurricanes are rare.

EARLIER SOCIAL CONDITIONS

175 Accounts of the social condition of Tonga as they found it have been given by various European explorers, and particularly by Cook. He describes a rather idyllic land, fertile, well-cultivated and well-roaded, inhabited by an intelligent and friendly people, skilled in
175 husbandry, boatbuilding, and in the manufacture of tapa cloth. The social organisation of the country was a simplified feudalism mixed
421 with elements of an earlier patriarchalism. A central government
631 exercised authority over the chiefs, who held land from the Tui Tonga
642 on feudal terms. In turn they allotted holdings to their people, exacting from them fealty, labour, produce, and war service when required. These allotments were not grouped around villages, but were more or less uniformly distributed over the chiefs' plantations as fenced farms. There were no limits to the demands a chief might make, but respect for public opinion, and the complex blood relations between him and
175 his people prevented any serious and systematic exploitation. Cook, at least, was impressed by the peaceful, prosperous and happy condition of the Tongan people.

669 But this state of affairs was not to last. Tongan chiefs became
178 involved as mercenaries in the Fijian wars, and fired by their neighbours' example, they plunged their country into half a century of civil strife.
165 Chiefs warred for independence or mastery. Prosperity dissolved with peace, and a quarter of the people died through violence or famine. In the general social chaos old institutions collapsed and new ones arose. The old plantation economy gave way to villages as the people were driven by the need for protection to group themselves around forti-
669 fications. Christian missions became established and the old Tongan
178 religion crumpled before their wholesome conversions. At first they
797 were a new factor of division in the heated contentions of the chiefs, but in the end they helped to close the long agony of civil war, and to build modern Tonga.

669 The outstanding personality in the last stages of the civil wars was
643 Taufahau, honoured by his people as the greatest Tongan. He pacified Ha'apai and Vavau in the late thirties, revived their agriculture and
178 secured their conversion to Christianity. Appealed to for protection by the Christians of Tonga Tapu, he invaded it. This led to the pacifica-

643 quently have a place in succeeding pages; and therefore it may be well to present a short outline of his history. Short it must be here; but the life of this eminent man, full of romantic incident, and greatly chequered by scenes of barbaric warfare, will, one day, be a fine study for an able biographer. Its details will be essential to any complete history, that may hereafter be written, of the rise and progress of Christianity in the Tonguese dominions.

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643 Attempts have frequently been made, by Romish Priests, to question and invalidate the hereditary and titular power of King George; but his pedigree may be traced back with certainty through a period of some two hundred years or more of Tonguese history. Well established facts link his name with that borne by a long line of lordly ancestors, some of whom wielded a regal authority, similar to his own, over the entire islands included in the Friendly group. In no nation in the world is the pride of noble birth more strong than in the Friendly Islands; and although without any written genealogies, they are very careful to maintain a correct traditional knowledge of the descent of their nobility. These traditional pedigrees may be all the more safely relied upon, because of the strict separation existing between the chieftain families and the *tuas* or common people.

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[124] It would be an unprofitable thing to string together, on our pages, the genealogical credentials of King George. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that the writer has now before him a MS. compiled by a native well versed in such historical matters. It is closely written, and extends over seventy pages; and from it we gather the most indisputable evi-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

dence of the present king's regal descent. In addition to this, the king himself, on one occasion when supping at the Mission House, gave the following account of his title to the sovereignty of all the islands. Having told the king that the Romish priests were anxious to advance the claims of the Tuitoga to the kingdom, and that they considered him as a mere usurper, he proceeded in substance with the subjoined statement.

It was no doubt true that, many ages since, the Tuitogans—as the name, Tonga-King, imports—were the kings of the land; but the royal blood became contaminated by the illicit connexion of one of their line with his female slaves, by whom he had several sons. When, therefore, the sons of these low-bred women came into power, they were despised by the people, and their assumption of authority led to national anarchy and oft-repeated assassination. Ultimately the right of the Tuitogans, to the exercise of supreme government, was not only annulled by conquest, but by their own abnegation of it. This they did on condition that they should enjoy certain sacred honours and immunities, in perpetuity, both from the ruling chiefs and the bulk of the people; whilst on their part they solemnly engaged never to intermeddle with the political administration of the country, or even in its civil affairs.

Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai, the last Tuitoga who was king of the land, was so disheartened in consequence of the murder of his father, Takalaua, that, after pursuing the assassins to the distant island of Uvea to no purpose, he returned to Tonga, and resigned his kingdom to his younger brother, Monga-Motua, whom he appointed Tuihaatakalaua. He,

643 in return, engaged to maintain and defend the
173 Tuitoga, for ever, in a sort of sacred or priestly state.
Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai was induced to take this step
because his brother was born of a chief woman,
and was thereby screened from popular insult.
The grandson of Monga-Motua, named Gata, succeeded
to the throne with the title of Tuikanokubolu,
which name has distinguished the sovereigns
ever since. Then followed in succession Gata;
Ata-mata-ila; Mataele-tua-biko; Mataele; Maafu-o-tuitoga;
Tubou-lahi; Tui-hala-fatai; (who was
King when Captain Cook first visited the islands;)
Maca-liuaki; Tubou-moheofo; (a female sovereign;)
Maafu-limuloa; Tubou-lahijii; Mulikihaamea; and
Mumui.

175 The son of Mumui, Tukuaho, the fourteenth in
643 succession, next ascended the throne, and was a
682 brave but exceedingly cruel man. He was the
grandfather of the present king, and was assassinated,
out of private revenge, by a chief called
[668] Tubouniua. His death became the signal for a
general struggle after power. Ulukalala (the Chief
175 Finau of Mariner's Tonga Islands) was no doubt a
634 designing, murderous rebel, who took advantage of
643 the king's death to raise himself from a second-rate
chieftainship in Haabai, to be the first in power
there, and also in Vavau. He likewise embroiled
[669] Tonga in a civil war: nor was he scrupulous as to
the means by which he gained his purposes. Finau
thus held Haabai and Vavau, for a time, under his
sway; at the same period a chief, named Takai,
643 strove to get supreme power in Tonga. In the midst
of this confusion, Tubou-Malohi, the eldest son of
Tukuaho, ascended the throne of his murdered
[669] father. His reign was very brief; for his subjects

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XI.

000 COMMENCEMENT of Tongan Mission—Revolutionary War—Murder of Tukuaho—Massacre of three Missionaries—Abandonment of the Mission—Recommencement in 1822—Success of Tahitian Teachers—Arrival of English Missionaries—Difficulties in Hihifo—Progress at Nukualofa—The First happy death—Advance of the Mission—War in Tonga in 1837—Renewed outbreak of hostilities—Danger to the Missionaries—English intervention—Death of Captain Croker—Temporary suspension of the Mission—Renewal of peace—Further progress of the Gospel—Landing of French Priests—Political intrigues—Division of Mission Stations.

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IN 1797, twenty years after the second visit of Captain Cook to Tongatabu, the first Christian Missionaries effected a landing on the western coast of the island, under the sanction and direction of the London Missionary Society. None of the party were ordained ministers; but, as reputedly pious and skilled artisans, they were intended to prepare the way for the establishment of an accredited ministry and an organized church. They were conveyed from Tahiti in the Missionary ship, "Duff," to their destination in Tonga; where, for a time, they received partial countenance and protection from a few of the leading chiefs, under whom they had placed themselves. They do not appear to have succeeded in making any marked impression, of a religious kind, upon the native mind. And yet it would be wrong to suppose that no good results whatever had followed their efforts. They had made no converts, it is true; but no good men of faith and prayer could go out and in for

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

three years, before a barbarous people, as they did, 175
worshipping and serving God, without communicating 797
some Divine light and power to those
around. To say the very least, the spirit of inquiry
would be awakened, and even that would
endanger the prolonged existence of Heathenism.
These men had opportunities for witnessing certain
horrible features in the refined savage life of the
Tonguese, which, happily, the Missionaries, who
arrived in later times, did not see; owing to the
rapidity with which the light of Christian truth
spread, rendering the perpetration of these former
crimes impracticable. They were cast also upon evil 175
times, as to the political condition of the island. A 797
bloody revolutionary war, then in progress, unfitted 669
the people for yielding much regard to spiritual
instructions: and this state of things involved,
at length, the massacre of some of their number,
the ultimate removal of the survivors, and the consequent
abandonment of the enterprise they had
undertaken with so much zeal and self-devotion.

Upon the death of Mumui, who was the reigning 175
chief of the islands when these men arrived in 797
Tonga, Tukuaho, the grandfather of the present 643
King George, succeeded to power. Although a
man of cruel disposition, he nevertheless continued
his protection to the Missionaries, until they themselves
determined upon separating, so as to localize
themselves in different parts of the island; thinking
in this way to secure greater personal safety,
and a wider influence over the people. Tukuaho, 175
in the mean time, held the reins of government in 643
the most despotic manner. He wielded his absolute
power in the perpetration of various acts of tyranny
and oppression, by which a spirit of dissatisfaction

175 was roused among the people at large. He pursued
643 a similar course, also, to the higher class of
his subjects; until his impolitic and despotic proceedings
175 led to an organised insurrection, and,
643 finally, to a complete revolution in all parts of his
669 dominions. The leader of this rebellion was Tubou-
Niua. The murder of Tukuaho was planned and
[682] executed under the eye, and by the hand, of this
daring insurgent; and it proved to be the signal
for a war that was carried on, for a considerable
period, with great ferocity and varying success.

175 Early in the course of this contest and political
797 confusion, three of the Missionary pioneers, brought
669 by the "Duff," were barbarously murdered; and
the others, after being plundered of their property,
saved themselves by flight to the western district
of the island, from whence they were at length
removed to New South Wales, by the captain of a
merchantman, who touched at Tonga, on his voyage
from the Society Islands to Port Jackson.

Nothing further was attempted from the year
797 1800 to the year 1822, in the way of Christian
effort on behalf of the Tonguese. The door that had seemed to open, closed again in darkness and blood; but the fact that several of the chiefs went on board the vessel, in which the remaining Missionaries departed, for the purpose of respectfully taking leave of them, seems to show that some good impressions had been made; and that the self-denying labours of these men had commanded the respect, if not the belief and love, of a few among a proud and deceitful people.

In the Stations of the Wesleyan Missionaries, as fixed in the Conference held in London, August, 1822, the following entry occurs, under the head of

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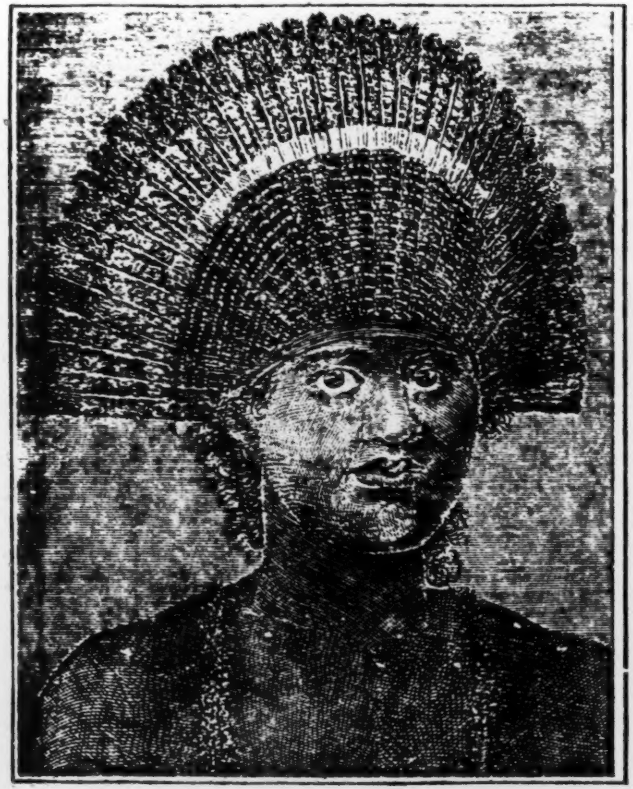

Pau, the 36th "Tu'i Tonga" (1777), whom the Cook journals describe as a "sedate, sensible man," wearing an elaborate feather headdress called *pala tavake*. Feathers were traditionally considered to be very valuable in Tonga and throughout Polynesia, especially red feathers, as red was a sacred color worn or used only by those of chiefly rank. And in the stratified Tongan society, rank was often indicated by certain body ornaments such as this one.

Ko e ta fakatata eni (1777) 'o Pau, 'a e Tu'i Tonga hono 36. 'Oku 'i hono langi 'a e teuteu fakatu'i ko e pala tavake. Na'e mahu'inga 'i Polinisia kotoa 'a e fulufulu'i manu puna, kae tautautefito ki he fulufulu lanu kulokula, koe'uhi ko e lanu ia na'e ngaue'aki pe 'e hou'eiki mo ha'a tu'i.

[p.28-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

59 Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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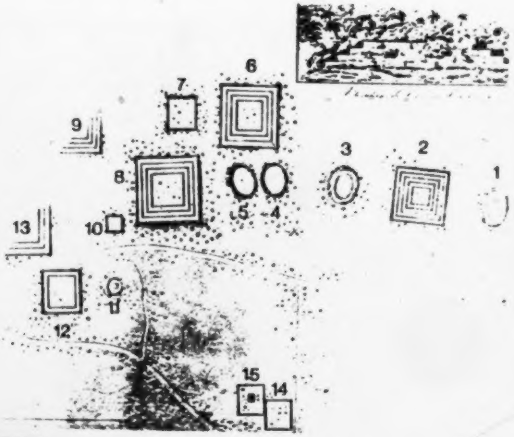
349 This plan of the "langi" at Mu'a was done in 1827 by an artist on Dumont d'Urville's voyage. The description, by number, as to who was believed at that time to be buried in each royal tomb, appears on page 95.

Ko e mape eni 'o e langi 'i Mu'a, 'a ia na'e fai 'i he 1827 'e ha tangata ta fakatata na'e folau ki Tonga pea mo e tangata folau 'iloa ko Dumont d'Urville. Ko e fakaikiiki 'o e ngaahi telio'anga 'oku ha ia 'i he peesi 96 .



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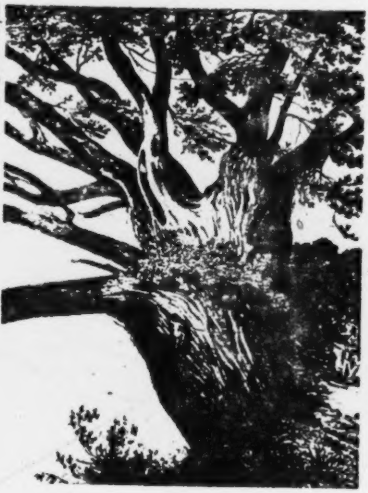
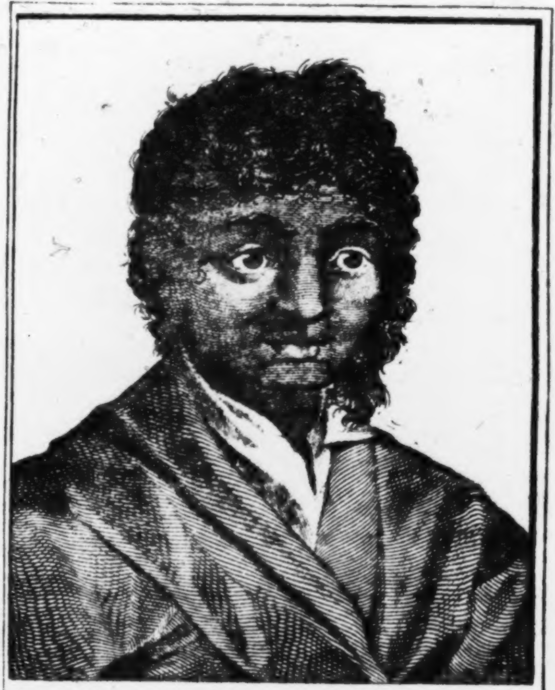


This colossal banyan tree, named *Malumalu'ofulilangi*, was the spot in Mu'a, according to oral tradition, where early Tongans landed to unload their tributes to the *Tu'i Tonga* for the annual *'Inasi* ceremony. It is also allegedly at the site where Cook came ashore in 1777, and has thus been called "Captain Cook's Tree." Measuring 100 feet in circumference when this sketch was made in 1827, the legendary tree perished not too many years ago, and has since been replaced by a smaller banyan tree.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o e fu'u 'ovava ko Malumalu'ofulilangi 'i Mu'a. 'Oku pehe foki ko e tu'uta'anga ia 'o e kau Tonga he kuo hili 'i he 'enau 'omi 'Inasi fakata'u ki he Tu'i Tonga. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e tui na'e tu'uta heni 'a Kapiteni Kuki 'i he 1777, pea ui ai 'e he ni'ihi e fu'u 'akau ni ko e "Fu'u 'Ovava 'o Kapiteni Kuki." Na'e fai e ta fakatata ni he 1827, pea 'i he taimi ko ia na'e fe'unga mo e fute 'e 100 hono fua takatakai. Kuo 'osi mate foki e fu'u 'ovava ni, ka kuo 'osi to ai ha ki'i fu'u 'ovava si'isi'i ko hono fetongi.



Portrait of OTAGO, or Attago, a Chief at AMSTERDAM.

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One of the chiefs of Tongatapu (or "Amsterdam," as it was called by Tasman in 1643), who became a friend of Captain Cook's and who exchanged hogs, fruit and fowls for red cloth, nails and clothing in the usual manner of islander-explorer trade relations.

[103]

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o ha 'eiki Tonga na'e fe'ofo'ofani mo Kapiteni Kuki. Na'e foaki ange 'e he 'eiki ni ha me'a tokoni, pea 'oange ki ai 'e Kuki ha konga tupenu kula, fa'o, ngaahi toki ukamea pea mo ha 'u vala.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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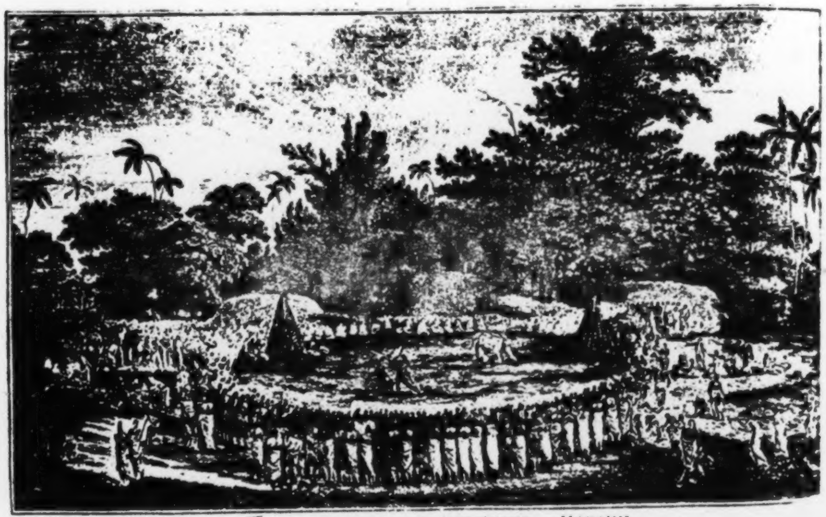
Captain James Cook first visited the Tonga Islands in October, 1773, and again in July, 1774 when he gave Tonga the legendary name: the Friendly Islands. In his journal, he wrote: "this groupe I have named the Friendly Isles or Archipelago, as a firm Alliance and friendship seems to subsist among their Inhabitants, and their Courteous behavour to strangers intitles them to that appellation . . ."

Na'e fuofua 'a'ahi 'a Kapiteni Kuki ki Tonga 'i 'Okatopa, 1773. 'I he 'ene folau hono tu'o ua ki Tonga, 'i Siulai, 1774, na'a ne fakahingoa ai e 'Otu Tonga ko e 'Otu Felenite (Friendly). Na'a ne fai ai ha tohi 'o pehe: "Kuou fakahingoa e 'otu motu ko eni ko e 'Otu Felenite koe'uhi 'oku fu'u fe'ofo'ofani mo femelino'aki 'a hono kakai, pea nau toe faka'apa'apa mo 'ofa foki 'i he kau sola mo e muli."



The RECEPTION of CAPT. COOK in HAPAEE.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

787 of reasons, for example, before going on a long
journey, prior to deciding on battle strategies, or
782 more commonly, in the event of illness.[20] One quite
prevalent early ritual, called *tutunima,* involved the
755 amputation of a joint of the little finger as a
sacrifice to the gods for the recovery of a sick
● [175] relative or chief. Anders Sparrman, the physician
aboard *H.M.S. Resolution* with Captain Cook, noted
in 1773 while visiting Tonga: "In these islands we
found scarcely one person of either sex or any age

[p. 42-C]

782 who had not lost one or more finger joints."[21]
755 Interestingly enough, Mariner witnessed two
five-year-old children in the 1800's actually
[175] competing for the privilege of having a finger
amputated in the *tutunima* ritual.[22]

782 Another ceremonial rite of early Tonga which was
performed out of awe and deference to the gods was
no'osia, i.e. strangling a human being as a sacrificial
782 offering. In days gone by, *no'osia* was done either
783 for the recovery of a sick person, or whenever the
[755] gods had been offended and thus needed
appeasement. For example, in the case of the latter,
if the sacredness of a burial place was violated (say,

[p. 43-A]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

POPULATION CHANGES IN TONGA:

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND MODERN COMMENTARY

A. C. WALSH

In common with other Pacific peoples, many 161 Tongans are now finding that the attractions of the main island and capital town far outweigh the often declining attractions of the islands of their birth. Population pressure, limited or unevenly developed resources, and new demands for money have induced many Tongans to resettle where the prospects seem more tolerable. As a consequence, the demographic importance of the different islands and settlements relative to one another is changing. This much is widely known, but it is sometimes seen as a phenomenon peculiar to recent years, although evidence is available to indicate that population movement is no new thing in the Pacific.

Tongans have long been amongst the most 173 mobile of the peoples of the central Pacific. At 648 varying times in the prehistory of the area, the Tongan *tu'i tonga*[1] claimed suzerainty over and tribute from Futuna and Wallis, the Lau group, Rotuma, and parts of the main islands of Samoa and Fiji. In the contact period over 3,000 Tongans 175 were engaged in the Fijian wars from which 648 Cakobau emerged victorious, while later others were engaged in missionary endeavours as far away as the Solomons. This early mobility, both 505 beyond but more especially within the group, was 133 no doubt encouraged by Tonga's physical geography.[2] Its high, long western chain of volcanic

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[1] The oldest and most important of three lines of kings, a sacred kingship dating from at least the tenth century.

505 islands, from 'Ata in the south to Niuafo'ou some 500 miles to the
133 north, served as navigation "beacons" which lit up and signposted the
vast ocean highway, making deliberate contact between parts of the
175 group a not uncommon happening from very early times. This, in turn,
[184] encouraged cultural homogeneity and the emergence of a central
[642] political authority in the eastern more densely settled, low coral islands
running parallel to the volcanic chain. A high degree of social strati-
[565] fication and strong dynastic rule uniting the islands can be traced
[642] back to the tenth century, and this continued without interruption for
[642] several centuries. Although the main groups of islands, Vava'u, Ha'apai
and Tongatapu, had in practice become separate political entities by the
time of European discovery, this is unlikely to have diminished the
[669] contact among them. In the disturbances which followed discovery the
[165] whole group was plunged into sporadic civil war (1799-1826) in which
it is estimated that a quarter of the population died, and peace and unity
175 were not really restored until 1852. Warfare, introduced diseases, and
161 new political and missionary activities had effects on population numbers, distribution and settlement patterns no whit less dramatic than the pressure of the present day. The pace, direction and character of population movement may have changed, but movement and change are in themselves not new phenomena in Tonga.

DISPERSED AND NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS

361 Today's typical settlement consists of an assortment of houses set on two-fifths of an acre allotments (*'api kolo*) sited close to the sea on the sheltered side, and some distance inland on the weather side, of an island. The settlement is nucleated, its boundaries marked by a graveyard, sometimes by an *ā kolo* or village fence, and always by a clear transition in land use: the residential village gives way to cultivated *'api tukuhau* or tax allotments, usually of 8¼ acres to which all male taxpayers over 16 years are theoretically entitled. Apart from the towns of Neiafu in Vava'u, Pangai-Hihifo in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa and nearby industrial Havelu Loto in Tongatapu, there are few differences, except in size, in form or function among villages anywhere in the group. Some, with population growth, have expanded and joined to form one continuous settlement, but even then the component parts have retained their separate identity and, with this, the characteristics of the small village.

175 This pattern is of relatively recent origin, for the first European
361 explorers to visit Tonga recorded no villages as such. Tasman, who
first discovered the islands in 1643, observed that "every man lived in his own gardens, the allotments being separated by reed fences."[3] Cook,

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[3] Cited by Kennedy (1958): 162.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

over a hundred years later, wrote: "There are no towns or villages, most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no order other than what convenience requires."[4] Kennedy has argued: 175 361

> These apparently dispersed dwellings may have virtually been in groups covering a proportion of the land held by each chief . . . This being a comparatively small area, the settlement pattern would in effect represent a village, though quite different in form from its modern counterpart.[5]

Maude concedes only a "district (which) appears to have had a centre, in and around which the chief, his family and his immediate attendants and followers were settled."[6] Cook called Mu'a, the permanent residence of the *tu'i tonga,* a "village" and Gifford claimed Nuku'alofa to have been a seasonal or temporary residence of the *tu'i kanokupolu.*[7] But it is clear that these places were quite atypical of settlement as a whole. While it is not unreasonable to suppose that "groupings" and "centres", permanent and temporary existed, it seems arbitrary to attempt a precise definition: the evidence is slight and open to various interpretations. What is clear is that villages as we now know them appeared only with the outbreak of civil war in 1799, when Tongans in the southern group congregated into palisaded villages, or *kolo.* As the war spread to other parts of the group, large village forts appeared in all the main islands and when peace returned these often became the sites of the first modern villages. It has been assumed that Tongans, after half a century of living in village forts, immediately forsook the chance to return to the old dispersed settlement pattern. This would appear to be an oversimplification of a more gradual process, for as late as 1830 Orlebar noted: "the huts of the natives, scattered irregularly over the country in groups of three and four. . . ."[8] It seems that diverse factors working unevenly throughout the group may have persuaded some people of the advantages of village life, while others only came to live in villages at a later date. Maude claims: 175 361 669 361 178

> "Mission influence was probably a major factor, for compact villages were almost essential for regular church and school attendance and at the same time facilitated the closer supervision of the people and their activities; religious enthusiasms, too, helped to bind the members of new settlements together. For the Tongans the major attractions were the churches and schools and, later, water tanks and stores, and the greater opportunities for social life and community activities."[9] [797]

Another factor of major significance for the evolution of the settlement pattern was the establishment of constitutional government by [565] [622]

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[4] Cited by Maude (1965): 28.
[5] Kennedy, op. cit.
[6] Maude, op. cit.
[7] Gifford (1929): 101.
[8] Cited by Maude, op. cit.
[9] Maude: 61.

775 of the gods and the place where the souls of deceased
565 rulers and chiefs went after death (commoners had no
souls, thus no afterlife).

182 To add to the complexity of Tonga's highly sophisti-
788 cated society, events were regulated by particular
rituals. Among these, for example, were the elaborate ceremonies surrounding *kava* drinking (such as in "Momo and Nua") and marriage rites (as in "Son of the Sun"). Such rituals have, to a great extent, remained a part of Tongan traditions over the centuries.

175 At certain points throughout history, the Pacific was
648 the center of great mobility and conquest. At times,
Tonga extended her dominion to neighboring islands such as Samoa (thus the references in several of the folk tales).

[p. 10-A]

existence in 1882, but it is rooted in the system of
political authority, whose history goes back over one 423
thousand years. Knowledge of Tonga's history before the 173
eighteenth century is based primarily on oral tradition,
consisting mainly of a listing of the sacred rulers, the
Tu'i Tonga, and tales about them and their followers
(Wood 1932, Gifford 1929, Collocott 1924). This history,
scanty though it is, depicts the steady accretion of power
and territorial expansion from a center on the main island
of Tongatapu. In the course of events, two positions were
created to accomodate the expansion of the ruler's power.
First, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was created, around
1450, and the person occupying that title took over many
of the secular responsibilities of the Tu'i Tonga. Later,
with the increase in dominion, the Tu'i Kanokupolu title
was created, early in the seventeenth century.

It was at about this time that Europeans first visited 175
the Tonga Islands, beginning with the Dutch navigators 177
Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, but in the following century
and a half there were only two further visits. Next, in
1773, Captain James Cook visited Tonga in the course of his
second voyage around the world, and from then on Europe and
Tonga were in fairly continual contact. The first Christian [797]
missionaries came to Tonga in 1797, although it was not
until 1826 that a permanent mission was established.

Shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, 175
669

Tonga entered a period of civil war. The fighting was touched off by the assassination of the 14th Tu'i Kanokupolu but it seems clear that the assassination was merely the spark that touched it off. The cause of the conflict was the struggle for power among a number of chiefs that had been going on throughout the eighteenth century and which became centered on conflict over succession to the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Once war broke out it was waged for more than half a century, involving different chiefs in changing alliances, leaving some islands peaceful for a few years and at other times devastating them with slaughter and famine. 175 669

The leader of the ultimately winning faction was Tāufa'āhau, who was a grandson of the Tu'i Kanokupolu whose assassination had touched off the civil war. Tāufa'āhau ruled until his death in 1893, and his long reign provided continuity and a source of stability. In 1845, at the age of forty-nine, Tāufa'āhau succeeded to the title of Tu'i Kanaokupolu. He then suppressed the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, which had not had an incumbent for almost fifty years. He dared not suppress the Tu'i Tonga title while the incumbent was still alive, but when the latter died in 1865 Tāufa'āhau suppressed that title too. Ten years later he declared himself to be King George Tupou the First, and the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua titles and also his own title of Tu'i Kanokupolu were absorbed in the 643 [669]

361 Motulahi forms a major part of the *tofia* associated
[565] with the noble title Haveatungua, one of the most ancient
and high-ranking titles in the land. Since the village is
favorably located in the middle part of Tongatapu, where
the distance between the lagoon shore and the sea coast
is at its narrowest, it is probable that the area has been
[172] settled since quite ancient times. Burial sites excavated
in the neighborhood of the village have yielded a Carbon-14
determination of 700 +/-200 years before 1950 (Davidson
1969).

175 A settlement at Motulahi is mentioned by the early
361 Christian missionaries who were in Tonga at the end of the
[797] eighteenth century. Then there is little mention of
175 361 669 Motulahi in nineteenth century missionary writings. During
the civil war, Motulahi was overshadowed by the nearby
settlement of Kolotau, which was one of the centers of
rebel activity during the final period of the civil war and
was the last stronghold to be subdued by Tāufa'āhau.
According to several people whose families have been longest
at Motulahi, the people of the area who favored the rebels
lived in the fortress of Kolotau during the fighting. It
is not clear who these people were, although the names of
175 some of their leaders are known. None of the families that
361 565 have been longest in Motulahi have any tradition of
residence at Motulahi before the civil war, and the seat of

175 the Haveatungua is traditionally linked with the island of 361 [565] Tungua, which is part of the noble's estate in Ha'apai. Thus it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the present settlement of the village can be said to have begun.

Shortly before the turn of the century, according to 361 621 both Fatafehi and Hūfangalupe, two old people (a man and a [115] woman, not related) who were living in Motulahi at that time and who are reputed to manatu lelei (remember well), the village comprised a total of fewer than ten households. Today, out of a total of 145 households, 75 households in the village are headed by descendants of those few house- [115] holds. There were still only ten households in Motulahi in 1919, according to Pulotu, a third informant, who had moved to Motulahi in that year as a newly-married young man seeking land. It is not clear how many people this included, as households were reckoned by each of the three informants mainly by reference to the names of the heads of the households. However, the three lists of names are in substantial agreement if we allow for certain [127] accountable changes between 1900 and 1919. Twelve years later, in 1931, according to a police census taken that year (Wood 1932), there were 159 people living in Motulahi. This probably means no fewer than fifteen nor more than thirty households in 1931.

621 in Tonga, which is probably different from other territories, is that the villages are not self-contained governing 175 units, and never have been" (Spillius 1959b: 3). Before 361 621 622 the nineteenth century, people lived in isolated homesteads under the immediate authority of the head of the local descent group (see Decktor Korn 1976). During the period of the civil war, they came to live together for protection in fortified villages under the leadership of warrior chiefs.[3] The historical evidence presented by Lātūkefu (1974) suggests that then, as now, the strongest single force binding the members of the village together was their allegiance to their chief, with only a few elements of concerted action under his leadership.

621 612 As we saw in the preceding chapters, local activities are generally not organized on a village basis per se. For example, the localized kin group known as the fāmili is not essentially a village-based group. Admittedly, people of different villages seldom belong to the same fāmili, hence the fāmili appears to be village-based, but the reason why members of a fāmili tend to be people who live in the same village is because of the nature of the obligations of fāmili membership. These obligations tend to require interaction at a level that is difficult to sustain

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[3] Walsh (1970) discusses the evolution of the Tongan settlement pattern.

527 to Tongatapu accompanying their prestations. For many of
648 the visitors, the kātoanga provided the occasion for
484 visiting Tongatapu and re-activating relationships with kin
from different parts of the country. One month after the
Royal Visit there were still some visitors in Motulahi who
told me that they had come "for the kātoanga".

527 Less than two weeks after the Royal Visit, preparations
648 were under way for another kātoanga. This one was to
take place over a four-day period in June 1970, marking the
attainment of fully-independent status for Tonga and
527 cocurrent entry into the British Commonwealth. Although
it is not usual for kātoanga to follow one another as
swiftly as this, these national events generally occur at
least once a year, with the occasion varying from one year
175 to the next.[11] Kātoanga are not merely a modern phenomenon.
527 In pre-modern times there were celebrations associated with
651 the annual 'Inasi ceremony, the Presentation of the First
Fruits to the sacred Tu'i Tonga. The following is an

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[11] In 1969, the occasion was the celebration of the twenty-first birthday of the Crown Prince; in 1968 it was the celebration of the fiftieth birthday ("the jubilee") of His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV; in 1967 the occasion was His Majesty's Coronation; and in 1966 it was the celebration of the centenary of secondary education in Tonga. In 1965 there was no kātoanga, as Her Majesty Queen Sālote Tupou III was gravely ill. However, the activities associated with her funeral in December 1965 were the occasion for rituals involving many thousands of people.

● 175 extract from the diary of an early missionary in Tonga:

> 527 651 The great ceremony of [ʻInasi], one of the greatest festivals in Tonga, ceased today. . . . That part of the island where we live is called the [Mu'a], or metropolis of Tonga; and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the Hapais bring their [ʻinasi], towards the end of the last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people by land rendering the [Mu'a] a moving scene of universal bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days. Every day has its special transaction (Lawry Diary, October 21, 1822; quoted in Urbanowicz 1972: 83).

Similarly, Captain Cook, who was anchored off Mu'a at the time of the ʻInasi in 1777, reported witnessing a gathering of about 10,000 people.

527 182 In my view, these festivities--both ancient and modern--are a significant means of national integration. Besides their effect of bringing ordinary people together for the renewal of kinship ties and other relationships, they provide an occasion for re-affirming and re-inforcing a sense of national unity and Tongan identity. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the population is widely spread out over many islands, not to mention the fact that national-level institutions, for the most part, are remote from the majority of people.

While the integrative functions of national events such as kātoanga and other ceremonial features of Tongan society are of considerable importance, it should be noted that these events involve a significant drain on government and individual resources, both materially and in terms of time and effort. Detailed consideration of these costs

121 feature characteristic of these societies is the optative and changeable
nature of the composition of household groups.

Fluctuating patterns of household composition have received less attention than other features that are characteristic of Oceanic societies. Usually they are discussed within the context of studies of land-holding groups, and they have generally been treated either as a secondary aspect of ecological adaptation or as a by-product of the flexibility of social organization in these societies. Studies that focus on actual settlement patterns, however, are more actor-oriented than are studies of land-holding groups. This different focus directs attention to what I take to be a lack of conceptual clarity in the use of such terms as "option" and "choice" in discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. This problem emerges in the final section of the paper, where I consider the meaning of the data that are presented here.

VARIATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

101 Tonga, a country of about 150 islands, lies east of Fiji and south of
[131] Samoa. (It is also known as the "Friendly Islands"—a name given by
[175] Captain Cook, who visited Tonga in the course of his voyages of 1773-74
[162] and 1777.[1]) About 40 of the islands are inhabited, with a total
[161] population in 1970 of more than 80,000; three-fifths of the people live
[131] on the main island of Tongatapu. The total land area of the country is
about 256 square miles, two-fifths of which is Tongatapu.

361 Although there are only four centers of administration and com-
162 merce in which social differentiation is such that they can properly be
called "towns," about one-third of the total population is clustered in
these areas (two are on Tongatapu). The remaining population lives in
villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of
village settlement; this settlement pattern is largely the result of
practices established during a period of civil war that lasted from 1797
[433] until the mid-1800's. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and
many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent
for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

592 There is no consensus among Tongans on what composition
[829] constitutes the ideal household, but all adults would agree that the ideal
household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head. Most Tongans
would probably say that a household ordinarily comprises a single
family unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried
children. Not all households conform to this pattern, however. In fact,

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[177] [1] Tonga was first visited by Europeans in 1616, but sustained contact with Europeans did
not begin until almost the end of the 18th century. Despite considerable European intervention
[777] since then, including the Christianization of the entire population before the end of the 19th
[648] century, Tonga has remained formally independent. In 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga joined the
British Commonwealth of Nations.

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

A Study of Tongan Panpipes with a Speculative Interpretation

*by Adrienne L. Kaeppler**

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114 In the pages of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1941, Te Rangi
174 Hiroa described a number of Polynesian panpipes, including two Tongan
specimens from the voyages of Captain Cook, and attempted in his final
paragraph to use panpipes as evidence to support his view on the
migration of the Polynesians through Micronesia. In the intervening
years, new studies of Tongan material culture, Captain Cook, and Poly-
nesian migrations have made additional information available and it
128 seems appropriate to place this information on record. These remarks
will be divided into three parts. First, it will be shown that panpipes
can support an alternative migration route to that proposed by Hiroa.
Second, the Cook voyage attribution of panpipes will be discussed.
Third, the musical and aesthetic properties of Tongan panpipes and
their relation to social organization will be explored.

174 Recent archaeological and linguistic research indicates that "proto-
Oceanic people" reached Tonga by 1500 B.C., having traveled through
the Melanesian area probably before much of it was inhabited by
peoples we now call Melanesians (see Green 1966, 1967, 1968; Golson
1971; Groube 1972). These studies, of course, have not attempted to
determine or even suggest what kind of musical instruments these people
534 used. However, the most widespread musical instrument in Polynesia
171 at the time of European contact was the bamboo noseflute, which was
175 found in nearly all of the island groups except New Zealand -- where
bamboo was not available and a different group of wind instruments
evolved. From this widespread distribution one would assume that the

[p. 102]

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52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, 534
on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian 171
traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa 175
appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but 534
their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree 171 114
with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre-European 175
introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would
appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that
came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended
as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the 177
Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in
trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was
inevitable.

A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and 175 534
bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] 535
which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes 177
(tuki kofe) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola*. [171]
At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance [533]
type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older [192]
poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could
easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bamboo
stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of
Cook and Labillardière — Tongans today are not familiar with the
instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke*. The demise of bamboo
stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not
fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively
recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe (*mimika*), likewise, 534
seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in 175
Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable
pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively [177]
late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering,
then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's 534
voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, 113
was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is
not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the
British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

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A panpipe in Richard Greene's Litchfield Museum was part of a collection said to derive from Cook's voyages and given to Greene by the Earls of Uxbridge and Donegall (Greene 1786: 77). It was described in a catalogue of the Museum as "a Syrinx, or Musical Instrument, composed of ten Reeds of different lengths, of the kind wherewith the God *Pan* is usually depicted" (Greene 1786: 75). This panpipe cannot be located today. 534 113

In the collection in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, which is said to derive from Cook's voyages, there are no Tongan panpipes today. However, in the 1813 catalogue of this museum we find:

> "No. 16, Two Reed Pipes from New Zealand,[11] used by the natives in their musical entertainments. The great analogy between these pipes, and the syrinx, or Pan's pipe of the ancients as well as some other similar articles used by these natives, has given rise to many speculative theories respecting their origin" (Laskey 1813: 20).

The location of this panpipe is unknown.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition (Mackrell 1886) did not include a Tongan panpipe, but it did include one from the New Hebrides. Many of the specimens from this exhibition, now in the Australian Museum, Sydney, derive from Mrs. Cook. In view of the fact that Mrs. Cook was said to have given a Tongan panpipe from her collection to Sir John Pringle (now in the Royal Scottish Museum, p. 105 above), it is unlikely that she would have had another Tongan one in her collection. This suggests that Mrs. Cook did, in fact, give the panpipe (and other objects) to Pringle and that both panpipes may be from Cook's second voyage because both Tonga and the New Hebrides were visited during that voyage.

Finally, it appears that there were no panpipes in William Bullock's Museum—there are none listed in his *Companions* or his detailed sale catalogue (Kaeppler 1974). The Cook voyage specimens in Bullock's Museum derived primarily from the third voyage.

From this summary it woul appear that Tongan panpipes were more common articles of trade during Cook's second than during the third voyage. While six panpipes are traceable to the second voyage, only two appear to be from the third voyage. For fourteen potential panpipes the voyage cannot be determined with certainty, but six of these 534 175

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 seem more likely to have come from the second voyage while none are
175 more likely to have come from the third voyage. One is tempted to
conclude that panpipes in Tonga were more in vogue at the time of the
second than at the time of the third voyage. (There seems to be no
reason that collectors on the second voyage would have been more
eager to collect them than collectors on the third voyage.) But in any
case, they were certainly more in vogue during Cook's voyages than
[177] later. If we are right in assuming that panpipes had been a relatively
recent importation from Fiji and played no essential part in Tongan
music, it would follow logically enough that they would have been
534 readily traded to Europeans and perhaps not replaced. In fact, there
113 are no Tongan panpipes of the nine- or ten-pipe variety in museum
collections which have documentation that would trace them to voyages
other than those of the 18th century. The four unnumbered nine- and
ten-pipe panpipes in the British Museum collection, which have no
accession information (e.g. fig. 1 a and 1 b), could well be some of
the missing Cook voyage specimens, such as some of the five "lost" since
the sale of the Leverian Museum.

534 Labillardière, who visited Tonga in 1792 on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage
175 in search of La Pérouse, states, "These people have invented a sort of
177 Pan's flute, which differs not from the European one, except in the
proportion of its sounds; all the tubes give full and not very extensive
notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest. We purchased
several of these flutes" (1802: 168). None of these can be located.
Neither the other 18th-century European visitors to Tonga, notably
Wallis, Malaspina, Maurelle, and Wilson, nor the 17th-century visitors,
Lemaire or Tasman, describe panpipes. Even Mariner (Martin 1818),
who was in Tonga between 1806 and 1810, does not describe the panpipe
in his 13 page section on music.

534 D'Urville, who visited Tonga in 1827 and 1838, depicts a panpipe (in
177 Plate 84) in the *Atlas* to his first voyage; however, he does not seem to
refer to it in the text (1830—1833). The panpipe depicted is unlike any
known Tongan ones in almost all respects--it has seven pipes in a
graduated arrangement with straight tops and broken bottoms which are
lashed differently than any known Tongan panpipes. I think it can
reasonably be assumed that D'Urville did not see one on the voyage.
[113] Because much of D'Urville's information comes from accounts of earlier

534 as a woman beating tapa in one house will join her rhythm to that of
565 the women beating tapa in houses around her. Aesthetic complexity by
[287] the addition of parts which in themselves were simple was encouraged
[517] by the social structure (rather than a complexity achieved by a more specialized individual). The complex and interesting musical product required the participation of several unspecialized individuals, who by their very participation sanctioned the stratified social system. The panpipe made it possible for one person to emulate this musical conception and thus use a similar kind of music in a nonchiefly or individual context.

534 The second line of evidence follows from the relative number of pan-
● 175 pipes and noseflutes over time using specimens in museum collections for which the provenance is known. As shown above, panpipes were relatively abundant during the second voyage of Captain Cook. Others can be traced to Cook's third voyage and there is mention in Labillardière. In the 19th century they disappear from the record except for the five-pipe variety which may, by that time, have become mainly a
[113] toy. On the other hand, Tongan noseflutes, whose provenance is Cook's second voyage, are at the most only four in number (Oxford, Göttingen, and two depicted in Volume I of the Stone drawings from the Leverian Museum, one of which is now in Vienna [Kaeppler, in preparation. a]). One can be traced to Cook's third voyage (Berne), and for one the voyage cannot be determined (Vienna). All six of these have the placement of holes distinctive of early Tongan noseflutes, i.e., three holes on the upper surface of the flute (one near each end and one at the middle), one hole on the under side (opposite the middle hole), and one hole on each side surface of the flute (one between the middle and nose hole and one between the middle and end hole)[20]; see figs. 10 and 16 A
[531] left. Often they were beautifully decorated with geometric designs and occasionally wrapped with braided coconut fiber. This small number of examples suggests that they may, indeed, have been used mainly in the service of chiefs and there were not many superfluous ones around. Webber made a drawing of a man playing a noseflute but he did not make a drawing of a panpipe in use. This may be because he usually depicted the affairs of chiefs, or he did not see a panpipe being played, or he did not consider it important.

534 Tongan noseflutes in museum collections that do not come from

A /see pp. 125 and 127--Analyst/

holder (Maude, 1965, p. 29). Today, with the dissolution of the lineage 613
and the descent principle among commoners, the term *kāinga* is applied
to one's bilateral kindred or field of individuals that one recognizes as 612
kinsmen. In former times, the commoner *'ulu mōtu'a* was linked to the 178
class system by being considered the *foha* (son) or *tehina* (younger 565
brother) of the chief to whose lineage his people were collaterally related
and subordinated. 613

The internally ranked *kāinga* is conceptually related to rank in the 602
class system in the following ways: (1) Relations between *Tu'i* and *'eiki,* 565
and between *'eiki* and *tu'a* are marked by rigid deference behavior expressed
in *tapus*. Within the *kāinga,* the important reciprocal ranked 612
relationships between father-children, brother-sister, and father's sister- 554
brother's children are expressed in similar *tapus*. (2) In talking about [784]
rank in the *kāinga,* Tongans discriminate status by saying that A is either
'eiki or *tu'a* to B, i.e., class concepts are used to designate relative rank in
the *kāinga.* Alternatively, the term *fahu,* 'above the law', is used in describing
rank designation both within the *kāinga* and between classes. (3)
Formerly, a kinship idiom was used to characterize relationships between
individuals of different classes: *'ulu mōtu'a* were termed the *foha* or
tehina of *'eiki.* Of course the *'ulu mōtu'a* were in fact usually related to
their *'eiki* but the kinship terms used to characterize their relationship
were idiomatic and metaphoric, rather than descriptive of actual ties.
Finally, (4) Tongan kin terms have the character of titles, similar to [601]
titles of nobility defining the societal class hierarchy, which allocate particular
statuses of honor to an individual and define for him standards of
behavior concerning demeanor and deference in relation to all other
individuals in his *kāinga.* These shared concepts of rank survive to the
present in both the Tongan class system and the *kāinga* despite important
structural changes that have occurred in Tongan society.

Conditions in contemporary Tonga may be seen against the backdrop 178
of changes that occurred during the period of civil wars in the eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries and the rise to power in the mid-nineteenth
century of George Tupou I, the founder of the present royal dynasty.
Tonga was ruled by a line of Tu'i Tonga, putatively descended from the 643
union of a god and a woman of an earlier Tongan population. After a 175
history of assassinations of Tu'i Tonga, in the fifteenth century, the
twenty-fourth incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power
on his younger brother, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, while retaining for
himself the highest sacred status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating
the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one

643 of his sons, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The first two royal lines lost status as
175 successive Tu'i Kanokupolu increased their power. Finally, after a period
of civil wars during which the Tu'i Tonga and various allied factions of
643 chiefs were defeated in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, George Tupou I,
642 united all three island groups of Tonga under his rule. The consolidation
of power under Tupou I coincided with his conversion to the Wesleyan
797 Church and his alliance with foreign missionaries. Tupou I, with the aid
648 of his European Prime Minister, Shirley Baker, a former Wesleyan missionary, instituted a number of important reforms (see Rutherford, 1971).
The following transformations have occurred in Tonga during and since
the rise of the dynasty of Tupou I:

178 1. Before the nineteenth century, Tonga's population was dispersed on
361 the land of the various islands. Only in the first part of the nineteenth
century did the present pattern of nucleated village settlement emerge,
resulting largely from mission influence and the need for protection
during the civil wars (Maude, 1965, p. 61).

178 2. The reforms of Tupou I culminated in the Constitution of 1875
which transformed the traditional feudal political system of Tonga into
642 a constitutional monarchy on the English model. In contemporary Tonga,
565 the nobility still occupies most of the positions of authority in both the
co-existing traditional and Western political systems.

178 3. The end of the period of violence and the reforms of Tupou I con-
565 siderably limited the powers and prerogatives of chiefs in the traditional
social system. Formerly, the Tu'i Tonga bestowed chiefly titles and grants
423 of land upon individuals who had extensive powers to dispose of the land
and its inhabitants as they wished. The title of noble was created by the
Constitution of 1875, and Tupou I chose a number of both his prominent
supporters and opponents to hold titles. Noble titles are associated with
legally recognized hereditary estates or *tofi'a*. The remainder of the
former chiefs maintained and passed on their titles, but were reduced to
178 small landholders just as commoners. In modern Tonga, chiefs without
565 *tofi'a* have only ceremonial status and are otherwise indistinguishable
from commoners in terms of class rank. Thus, the reforms of Tupou I
essentially froze the boundaries of the class system, not only limiting the
possibility of an individual becoming titled, but also limiting the preroga-
tives and powers that chiefly titles formerly carried with them. There
were 33 noble titles in Tonga in 1965, but only 29 actual title-holders,
since two men held two titles each and the remaining titles were held

by the Royal Family in the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965, p. 56). 178
The power of the nobles within the surviving traditional class structure 565
was limited in that they no longer have legally recognized rights to the
services or goods of their people, nor any judicial functions outside the 178
state legal system, nor any control over the amount of rent and tenure of 565
land, legally registered by commoners who live on their *tofi'a*. Essentially, 423
nobles within the traditional structure have been reduced to landlords
with very limited powers even in this status. However, what makes the 175
role of the noble important in the traditional class system is the fact of
their considerable moral and cultural status on the village level, backed 565
by the very real power that they hold in the parallel political structure
of modern government. The Town Officer of a village, often a com- [624]
moner, still shows considerable respect to his noble, and at least in 'Uiha,
accedes to his wishes. In sum, the traditional class structure of Tonga
survives, but in an attenuated form with sharply defined boundaries
between the Royal Family and the small number of noble titles on one
hand, and the rest of the population including commoners, nominal
chiefs, and *matāpules* on the other.

4. Tupou I instituted a unique individualistic system of land tenure 423
(see Nayacakalou, 1959, pp. 93-114; Maude, 1965, pp. 97-103). Every
Tongan male over sixteen years of age was to receive on application two
pieces of land: a tax allotment *('api tukuhau)* of 8¼ acres and a town
allotment *('api kolo)* on which to build a house. For his tax allotment [427]
an individual was to pay an annual rent of eight shillings to his noble if
the land was on an hereditary estate, or to the Government, if the land
was on a government estate. Also, by law, the use of land was to be [428]
inherited by the eldest son of the previous deceased holder. This system
of land tenure exists to the present day, and is an important factor in [166]
stimulating the dispersion of Tongan kin groups from their native vill-
ages and islands. The complexities of the operation of this system in the
face of increasing population need not be considered here. Formerly, [565]
nobles had the power to distribute unused land on their *tofi'a*, but since [178]
there is so little land left undistributed in Tonga, this surviving noble
prerogative has lost much of its effect.

What has happened to patterns of rank in the kinship system, the class 178
system, and the descent system in the face of these changes can best be
approached by asking what has happened to the *ha'a* in modern Tonga. 613
As Aoyagi has shown, the concept of *ha'a* as a group in any of its [121]
previous uses has virtually no meaning for commoners on the village

we know of, except by Tasman, who in his Chart lays down a small 101
island nearly in the situation I suppose Vaughwaugh to be, that is
in about the Latitude of 19° but then this island marked on the chart
is very small whereas Vaughwaugh is said to be larger than Tongatabu
and with high Mountain[s].[1] I certainly should have gone to this 123
island with Feenough from Happi, had he not then told me it was an
inconsiderable island and without a harbour, but Fattafee the King
assured me afterwards that it was a large island and not only produced
every thing in common with Tongatabu, but had several streams of
fresh Water, and that there was as good a harbour as the one in Tongatabu
and added if I would go there he would accompany me, and
if I did not then find every thing true he had told me I might kill
him, I had no doubt but that he told the truth and that Feenough
from some Views or other had deceived me.

Hammoah which is also under the dominion of Tongatabu lies two 101
days sail to the North or NW of Vaughwaugh, it is described as being
the largest of all the islands, with harbours and every other necessary.[2]

Fidgee lays three days sail from *Tongatabu* in the direction of NWBW,
they describe it as a high but very fruitfull island abounding with
Hogs, Dogs, Fowls and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found
on any of the others.[3] It is not subject to Tongatabu on the Contrary [721]
they frequently make War on each other and it appeared from several
circumstances that these people stand in much fear of those of Fidgee,
and no wonder sence the one is [a] Humane and peacable Nation,
whereas the other is said to be Canibals, brave, Savage and Cruel.[4]
That they are Canibals, they themselves do not deny, there were 563
several of them at Tongatabu when we were there of whom we inquired,
those I saw was a full shade darker than any of the other
islanders,[5] one of them had a large hole in his left ear and so extended

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[1] Tasman's small island was Late, lat. 18°50′, long. 174°40′ W; it is small, but rises to [131]
1700 feet, much higher than any part of Vava'u, the highest 'mountain' on which is just
over 600 feet. Vava'u, broken up by water, is not as large as Tongatapu, though it looks [133]
about the same size on a general map: Tongatapu covers just over 100 square miles, the
whole Vava'u 'district' (i.e. other small islands are added in), only 46.

[2] Samoa is north-east, not north-west, of Tonga, distant about 360 miles. The story that
it was under the dominion of Tongatapu was perhaps wishful thinking: it was invaded by [175]
the Tongans from the end of the twelfth century to about 1250, when they were driven out, [648]
with appreciation of valour on both sides. But it seems to have paid some tribute.

[3] '. . . it is somewhat surprizing that Capt Cook did not go in search of it accoarding to His usual practice. His reasons for not doing it I can't account for; as we certainly had time while we were lying at Tongataboo.'—Gilbert.

[4] There is little record of war between Tonga and Fiji. But the prestige of Fiji was high, [177]
and adventurous young Tongan chiefs would treat Fiji as a sort of war college, and go across
to take part in the tribal fighting there. They also learnt a good deal about canoe-building
from the Fijians. The Fijian characteristics noted are all valid enough.

[5] They were not Polynesians, though Fiji was just outside the 'Polynesian triangle'. The
'full shade darker' indicates the Melanesian strain. Inter-traffic between Fiji and Tonga [144]
led to a certain mixture of blood, not confined to chiefly lines.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

APPENDIX III

Extracts from Officers' Journals

1. CLERKE

ACCOUNT OF TONGA, 1777

[*P.R.O. Adm 55/22, ff. 86–91v*]

We arriv'd at Anamooka (or Rotterdam) one of the Friendly Isles on the 175 2nd of May and continued among them till the 17th of July. During this Stay we found that this Group of Islands, to which with the utmost 101 propriety is given that social Name, is infinitely more numerous and extensive than we before had any Idea of, as will be seen in the Survey by our Travels and visits among them; but our Intelligence gives them vastly more Scope yet, which I must treat of hereafter. The Food of the Inhabi- 175 tants and the various produce of the Isles of Amsterdam and Rotterdam I believe were fully describ'd in our Accounts of last Voyage: I have likewise said a little upon that Subject in the course of the Log, so that I can only observe here, the account is applicable to the whole, and that they all live in the most happy and luxurious abundance.

A few days after our Anchoring here arrived a Man from Amsterdam 175 whose name was Feenow; he immediately took upon himself the regal Authority, and every thing was done with all respect and attention by his 634 Command: the Man who acted as his prime Minister, and who upon all Occasions acquitted himself as a clear headed Fellow and profound Statesman, in a long harangue he made told us that Feenow was Agi-lahi[1] or King of Amsterdam and all the numerous Group of Isles laying around, which he enumerated to us by their Names: I counted till he came to a hundred, when I concluded those were Isles enough in conscience for any one Man, and being almost tired of the Ministers elaborate speech, I gave over numbering, but his Excellency made many Additions to King Feenow's Territories after I had done. However be these matters as they may, Feenow was all in all here, and was most princely attended; he had a numerous train of dependants generally about him, beside half a dozen very fine young Lasses, which composed his Majesties Seraglio.

During our Stay now, we were convinc'd of the Existance of a Volcano 175 upon Mattafoa, for it was in a continued State of Eruption: at our departure hence the last Voyage we were dubious whether the Smoke we saw 133 about this Isle had a subterranean Origin or not.

On the 14th Instant, by the invitation and desire of Feenow, we got 175 under way to make a visit to the Arpi[2] Isles, where he assur'd us of abundance of every thing that was good: the passage there is rather disagree-

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[1] *'aiki lahi.*

[2] Ha'apai.

[p. 1301]

175 able, upon account of the various Isles and reefs (which are delineated in
the Survey) that a good deal interrupt and impede your Navigation;
175 however we anchor'd off them very well on the 17 Instant. Here we likewise
found our friend Feenow, Lord of all, and he certainly did behave in
634 a very friendly, liberal manner, making us large Presents of Hogs, Yams
609 &c, for which, tho' he was ever amply rewarded, still I give him Credit,
for it certainly has a more generous and social appearance than that of
absolute bargaining.

[177] On the 20th Instant by his desire the Party of Marines from both Ships
were taken on shore and exercised before him and his Court; they seem'd
much pleas'd at their various Maneuvres, and perfectly happy at their
175 Entertainment. As soon as our People had done, Feenow with about an
hundred of his principal Men got up and in return gave us a dance (what
609 they call a heavah) to the Tune of their Drums, and some Men who set
535 round the Drummers, at the same time singing; the Dancers all join'd in
[533] the vocal Musick and accompanied their bodily Movements with those
of a light wooden Implement between 2 & 3 feet in length (the form as in
[293] the Margin)[1] which they have for this Purpose. The amazing exactitude of
their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their
Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the
least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any Company
[292] of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my Life. They were decorated upon
this Occasion, with Cloth of various Colours, which set off their Persons,
that were by Nature exceeding good, to much Advantage; this with the
perfect regularity of their motions gave them a most striking and pleasing
175 Appearance. The Evening concluded with Fireworks, with which Capt
Cook treated them: they were exceedingly amaz'd at the extraordinary
177 revolutions of the Water Rockets in the Water; this must appear to them
indeed most wonderfull, that two of the most opposite Elements in Nature,
shou'd, for such a length of Time, seemingly act in conjunction.

175 Feenow during our Stay here treated us with many Heavah's and
Amusements of various kinds; some perform'd by Women, these were
609 generally in the Evening after Sunset; but we were very well illumin'd by
535 burning the dry'd Leaf of the Palm Tree and some ribs of the Coco Nut
[372] Leaf, on which was stuck Nuts containing an oily Substance, which
infusing itself into the Stalk and communicating the Oil as it melted from
one to the other, gave a light by no means inferior to our Candles. The
[292] Ladies were peculiarly attir'd for these Exhibitions in various colour'd
robes, in which they look'd very gracefull and beautifull; they perform'd
to the Musick of Drums and singing, were perfectly regular in their
Motions, which however were to us altogether novel, curious & laughable;
the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and
every thing was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality.
175 If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in
609 the vying of the Performers and Spectators which shoul'd most emphati-

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[1] There is no drawing in the margin. The 'instrument' was the *pali*.

cally express their satisfaction and approbation of each other. We were 175
likewise entertain'd with wrestling Matches, at which exercise they shew
great strength and agility, at the boxing Matches, in which they strike 609
very hard, but have little Idea of catching a blow; they sometimes avoid
it by feats of activity in skipping and bobbing aside, but are Strangers to 175
the art of Broughtonizing.[1] The Women are introduc'd into these boxing 609
Matches, and do pay one another about the Face and Eyes most intolerably;
this however we put aside in some measure during our Stay, for to 542
us who are accustom'd to pay such attention to the Ladies, it appear'd a 526
most unnatural and barbarous Amusement. The Men sometimes fought
with Clubs, made with the large End of Coco Tree Branches, with which [152]
they bang'd each other about the Head most heartily: now thro' all this
Boxing, fighting &c, wherein they must very frequently have been most
miserably hurt, such was their great good Nature and happy disposition,
that I never saw any thing like a passion or the least heat of temper upon
any of these Occasions among them; but tho' they were thus set on to
knock each other about for the Amusement of their Superiors, they went
thro' the whole Ceremony, and put up with the very disagreeable Sensations
it must have occasion'd, with the same Complacency they wou'd
have shewn in the most innocent and pleasing Amusements.

On the 27th arrived here another great Man from Amsterdam whose 175
Name was Fatafa Powlahow, who gave us to understand he was Agilahi,
or King, of it and all the various Isles in the Neighbourhood: to 643
corroborate this account, he was shewn all manner of respect and attention 634
by the People, as indeed was Feenow, who at this time was absent [431]
upon a Visit to an Isle he call'd Vow-Vow,[2] which he told us was only one
days sail from this Place, and from which he promised to make an expeditious [484]
return with an abundant Present of red Feathers, and Hogs.

This Story of the rival Kings appear'd very extraordinary, but Capt
Cook and myself of course, courted the friendship of King Powlahow, as at
any rate we saw he must be a Man of extensive Power, and consequently
by us to be attended to, However as Feenow did not return to the time he
had promis'd, we concluded that his Absence was to avoid the disagreeable
ceremony of an Interview with a Man, where his hitherto boasted Laurels
must fall to the Ground.

On the 28 Instant, having far'd at these Isles as our Friend Feenow had 175
promised, most luxuriously; we weigh'd and stood again for Anamooka,
where we anchor'd on June the 6th. Capt Cook had sown some Seeds of 114
various kinds during our last Stay here, and was desirous of seeing how the
Country agreed with them; some he found in a tolerable State, but
others of them had been so ill used by Insects, as to render their being of
future Service rather improbable.

Both Powlahow and Feenow soon join'd us here; I was present at the 175
first Interview that happen'd between them, when Feenow did the homage
of a Subject to Powlahow, but with such a dejection of countenance and 634

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[1] See note on Samwell, p. 1028 above.

[2] Vava'u.

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175 such apparent depression of Mind (I suppose in consequence of its happening
634 before severall of us to whom he had beking'd himself) that I cou'd
not help participating in a great measure in his distress; indeed I am not
643 much surpriz'd at this Usurpation of Feenow's, for he certainly concluded
that the more honorary and dignified he shou'd appear, the more he might
be able to get from us; was this the case I cannot conceive it for Indians,
who have so few opportunities of the kind, very illaudable; upon this
Principle he wou'd have the Sanction of the Bulk of Mankind both
humaniz'd and wild to plead in his excuse, for I think it seems a pretty
general maxim with most Men to make as much of their Neighbours, or
any other incidental Connexion as they conveniently can; but to proceed.

On the 8th we again departed from Rotterdam and stood for Amsterdam,
175 where we anchor'd on the 11th Instant. Here we found a repetition
609 of the Civilities we had experienc'd at the other Isles, abuntantly enjoying
the many good things, with which all bountifull Providence seems in a
175 peculiar manner to bless these happy Isles. We were here soon given to
understand there was a Man at a little distance still greater than Powlahow;
643 Capt Cook and myself beg'd to be conducted to him, that we might
576 have the honour of paying our respects; this we address'd to Powlahow,
292 who answer'd that nobody was admitted to his Presence with their
Cloaths on; if we did go to him, we must be naked to the Waist, and at the
same time added he wou'd ere now have visited the Ships, but was given
to understand by those who had been on board, that during their Stay in
the Captains Apartment, which of course was the principal one of the
Ship, there were People walk'd over their Heads; this he said Mallawogga,[1]
which was the Name of this formidable Chief, cou'd not possibly admit of,
for any Man in Nature being above his Head wou'd be consider'd as a
[123] diminution to his Honour, and an insult to his Consequence. To these
extraordinary arguments we return'd, that our King never exacted any
such Mark of respect as stripping before him, that we pull'd our Hats off
in his Presence, which we were ready to do in King Mallawogga's; that it
was highly preposterous in King Mallawogga to think of more respect
from us than King George, who was so infinitely a greater Prince, whose
Subjects were so numerous, that we were so very inconsiderable a part as
wou'd scarcely ever be miss'd were we never more to appear at Home; yet
we trifling handfull of King George's subjects cou'd with all ease dispossess
or even destroy King Mallawogga and every subject he had got; having
thus argued with Powlahow, he engaged to carry us the next Morning
to Mallawogga's and favour us so far as to introduce us with our
Cloaths on.

175 Accordingly on the Morrow, which was the 13th Instant, I attended
Capt Cook, & having first equip'd ourselves with some of our choisest
643 presents for this mighty Prince, we set out in our Boats with Powlahow for
123 the regal Apartments. After a Row of about 2 Leagues, which was latterly
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[1] Maealiuaki. Clerke seems to hear an *l* in names where others—e.g. Cook—hear an *r*.

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[1777]

in a fine spacious Pleasant Bay, we were landed in a delightfull part of the 175
Island, most numerously inhabited. We were conducted amidst many
hundreds of our good Friends to a large House where we were desir'd to 643
set down and wait till Mallawogga was prepar'd for our reception. After 129
waiting till our patience was pretty well exhausted, we began to be 609
inquisitive to know when his Majesty wou'd be enough at leisure to give us a few minutes Audience; some to whom we address'd ourselves told us his Majesty was taken very ill; others that he was retir'd to his religious Offices; others again told us he was gone to the Ships: this last we knew was a very improbable Assertion for had that been the Case, we must have seen something of him in our way hither, however it requird no great degree of divination to find out that his Majesty, be he where he wou'd, was not dispos'd to see company, at least us that Day, which being now pretty well convinc'd of, we walk'd again towards the Boats; in our way thither, Powlahow wou'd fain have introduc'd us to another Gentleman, who he said though not a King was a very great Man; but our visit today being professedly to his Majesty, and not feeling any great Exultation at the Turn affairs had taken, we did not find ourselves dispos'd to any farther introductions for the present, so got to our Boats and made the best of our way for the Ships again. The next day we were given to understand
that Mallawogga was on shore a little distance from our Tents; in the [124]
afternoon I accompanied Cap^t^ Cook to pay our respects; we found him setting under a Tree, surrounded by many of his great Men and a multitude of the rabble: he is a very old Man, I think clearly arriv'd to his second Childhood; however we were graciously receiv'd, pay'd our respects, made our presents and set down by him; after about 2 Hours conversation, but confusedly understood on both Sides (for we are as yet by no means perfect in their language and they know not the least of ours) we got up and took our leaves; the old Gentleman in return for his presents gave us some large Pieces of Cloth, and we parted very good Friends.
The old Boy now took up his Quarters among us, as before had our old 175
Acquaintance Powlahow and Feenow, with many Chiefs of less Distinction,
so that we pass'd our time in all the luxury and festivity that this 643
Country afforded; in the first place in respect to Diet, we far'd sumptuously
every day, and in the next we were very frequently entertain'd 609
with Musick both vocal and instrumental, Dancing, Wrestling, Fighting &c in the manner I have before related.

On the 18^th^ We had our Marines on Shore, who went through the 175
various Maneuvres of their Exercise before them and in the Evening we
set off some Fireworks with which they were both delighted and astonish'd. 177
We soon had reason to observe that they had aggrandized old Mallawogga 175
to the degree they did only to forward some favourite Scheme of theirs; I
conclude upon the same principal that Feenow before had beking'd 604
himself; for it may be necessary here to observe, that upon all Introductions 643
to Indian Chiefs, you make your way, with a present in your hand, and they of course conclude that this present is generally calculated

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[1777]

175 according to the estimated consequence of the Gentleman to whom you are
introduced, in this I believe they guess well, in respect to myself I am sure
634 they do; however this old Gentleman, was nothing more than Agee or
643 Prince of this particular district where we happen'd to lay,[1] and upon all
Occasions did homage as a subject to Powlahow, who we found to be
indisputably to all intents and purposes Agee-lahi or King of this Island
175 and all its various Connexions. Feenow, tho' not King Feenow, was still a
very powerfull Gentleman; in the first place he was their Generalissimo
634 and upon all Occasions led their Armies to battle; in the next he was an
157 active, stirring fellow, enterprizing and extremely popular, so that though
he was not by his Station so consequential as some few of them, yet by his
701 disposition and attention he render'd himself every atom as formidable,
and his friendship might be, and was, productive of more services to us
175 than any of [the] rest cou'd have contributed. Powlahow most certainly was
Lord of all, but he was an indolent, fat, greasy rogue, whose sole delight
643 was eating, drinking, laughing, and the Diversions of the Seraglio; let him
157 but abound in these amusements, which was pretty much the case with him
and who wou'd might reign and direct the affairs of State for what he car'd.

On the [19th] instant Cap^{t} Cook distributed among the principal
175 People, some of his Cattle. He gave them a Bull and a Cow; Horse and
123 Mare, several Sheep & some Goats of different Sexes; these I hope and
[181] flatter myself will flourish and become a blessing to them. I think they are
full as likely to increase among these People as among any set of Indians
we know of; these are by no means so much the Children of the Hour as
our good friends of Otaheite and the Society Isles; they have infinitely
more thought and attention to the morrow than those good Fellows, which
their industry in agriculture and extensive plantations sufficiently evince.
000 On the other hand, in respect to our hungry Acquaintance, the Zeelanders,
every thing among them so immediately becomes the property of force and
power, that no Man knows what may be his possessions tomorrow; consequently nothing is worth keeping that can possibly be made to accrue to
our use or satisfaction to day. In my Opinion the first friendly office that
can be done those People wou'd be if possible to correct their Dispositions
in respect to each other, untill that can be brought about, every attempt to
contribute to the good of that Society in general must be ineffectual, as
that universal, internal discord which reigns throughout the Country
wou'd inevitably defeat them.

175 On the 8th of July, I went with Cap^{t} Cook by particular invitation and
desire of Powlahow to his habitation to be present at a very extraordinary
644 Ceremony, perform'd in honour of his Sons arrival at such a particular
651 Age. This House of Powlahow's is situate in the same part of the Country
361 as we went to in order to visit Mallawogga; this being, as I before observ'd
175 a most agreeable part of the Isle, many of the principal People have Houses

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[1] This is a misapprehension of Maealiuaki's status, as has been made plain before. But he was, according to Anderson, p. 950 above, the 'Lord' or 'Baron' of the district of 'Noogoo noogoo'—i.e. the island Nukunuku, south-east of the anchorage.

and Plantations in the Neighbourhood. We understood that this Ceremony 175
was to qualify the Youth to eat before his Father; for by a confounded
unsocial Law which they have among them, no two great people can eat 361
or drink in each others Sight. When two of these Agee's met, either at
Capt Cooks Table or mine, the man of least rank always retir'd; any great 175
Man, will have his dependants or any other of his Inferiors, who are of no 264
particular distinction, eating and drinking about him, but no two People 565
of the first Consequence will eat or drink in the presence of each other, but
to return to Powlahow; We were not enough acquainted with the Lan- [644]
guage to understand the various Harangues upon this Occasion, so that all [651]
our Observations were confined to the outward Order and method of it. [123]
From its solemnity it must be a religious business, but what seems extra-
ordinary in such a kind of Undertaking is, nobody but the Gentry were 175
suffer'd to act in it, or even to see it, for before the processions began,
there were parties of people with Clubs sent about to clear the Streets and 644
knock any body on the head that dare violate the prohibition so far as to 651
be seen abroad during such a particular Time. Tho' we were there by the [123]
particular Invitation of the King, we were not suffer'd openly to look at them, but were put behind a Bamboo hedge just by, where however by dividing the Bamboo's a little we cou'd see tolerably well. The Scene was acted upon a large Grass Plot, nearly in the middle of which was run up a little Slight Shed purely upon this Occasion; under this Shed was seated the young Prince (a fine well grown Youth of about 14 or 15, so swaddled in Cloaths as to be almost unable to move) with a few of the Nobles about him; when the Father, King Powlahow arriv'd he sat down at some distance with only 2 of his People with him, and was as far as I cou'd observe merely a Spectator throughout the business. About 10 yards from this Shed were seated a number of Gentlemen, for every man of consequence throughout the Land was assembled upon this Occasion. Whilst matters were in this situation, various little ceremonies pass'd which were altogether mysterious to me, so can say nothing of their purport; presently arriv'd the procession in very solemn order, it consisted of 600 of the principal People of the Island, each two carrying a stick between them upon their Shoulders, on which was tyed a sample of some particular produce of the Isle, and on some a few Fish; upon the arrival of these, those Gentlemen who were sitting at a distance from the Shed rose up and they all went together and sat themselves down as near as convenient to the Prince, and there in a very serious manner offer'd him the various Samples they had brought; some particular People whom I shou'd suppose to be Priests, making a Speech at every particular one. Soon afterwards arriv'd 30 Agee or Principal Women each two carrying a piece of white Cloth between them, which was offer'd him in the same manner. After this Ceremony was over, the business of the day was ended and every one went about his Business. The next day the same kind of form took place in every particular, and all Matters were conducted as on the day before as far as I cou'd perceive, only that after the Ceremony was done with the

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175 Prince, there was an Entertainment of boxing and wrestling, which they 644 gave us to understand was the Conclusion of the business altogether.

The Purport of this Ceremony seems to me nothing more or less than 651 the Nobles paying their Allegiance to the Heir apparent of the Crown; the Samples offer'd him, I imagine are purposed as Intimations of their future Intentions of supplying him with those Matters, and if we understood them right, after having receiv'd these Acknowledgements and promises of future Services from all the Principals of the Nation, he was renderd consequential enough to set at Table with his Father. Thus having seen the Ceremony through we return'd to the Ships on the Evening of the 9th.

[782] This Ceremony in honour of the young Prince they call Anăche:[1] they tell us there is to be another in two Months, which they say will be a very superb one; in the Course of it, there are to be 10 Men sacrific'd before his young Highness; now whether these are intended as sacrifices to their Gods to implore their Protection and blessings for the young Gentleman or thro' what other principal I cou'd not learn, and whether it may not be altogether fabulous I cannot pretend to say; but it was told me so seriously by many of them that I declare I firmly believe it; no one at all contradicted it when question'd upon the Subject, but spoke as familiarly of it, as tho' it was a matter fully settled and determin'd some time since.

These People in their persons surpass in beauty every Nation I ever yet 175 met with, excepting the Natives of the Marquesas which Isles we visited in 142 the course of our last Voyage; that perfect proportion of the Limbs which is universal among them is admirable; there are few that exceed 6 Feet, but then you scarcely ever see an undersiz'd Man, by which means I think they generally run stouter than Europeans: there was not a single deform'd Man seen, and among the many thousands we were at different times associated with, we saw exceeding few Exceptions to that exact Symmetry and proportion in which they seem so peculiarly bless'd.

The Agee's are some of them rather overloaded with flesh, but all the [146] rest were in fine Order, and there were none so poor, but their Countenances bespoke both a plentifull and salutary Diet. The Women are as 175 perfectly form'd as the Men, they are in general handsome but I think 142 somewhat masculine; Chastity is by no means the reigning Virtue of these Isles, the good Lasses readily contributed their Share to our Entertain-831 ment, and render'd our Bill of Fare compleat, but I am very sorry to have 164 Occasion to observe that at our arrival this time, we found them cursed with Venereal Taints; this of all the Curses that coud befall them is the worst; where connexions between the Sexes are so unlimited as they are here, it is indeed a heavy misfortune.

Their Hair is strong, and in general originally black, but they have a 175 method of dressing it with a compound of Lime & some other Materials 302 which changes it to half a dozen different colours, so that you shall see on [142] the same head, hair of various hues, nay the same hair from its root to its Point will be of 2 or 3 distinct colours. I saw among the young Nobility

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[1] *inasi.*

some few with as fine brown hair, as ever I met with. The people of dis-
tinction in general wear their Hair rather long, those of inferior rank quite 175
short; some of the Women of Fashion let it grow & hang in ringlets below 302
their Waist. These people cut their Hair & shave with Sharks Teeth, [237]
which answer those purposes amazingly well. They are exceedingly neat
& cleanly in their Persons, both Men & Women bathe as soon as they rise [515]
in the Morning, and are then rub'd over with Oil which has a most agree-
able perfume; this perfume has a pleasing effect if at any time you get
umbled among a multitude of them, which was frequently the Case.

Their police[1] I never cou'd clearly understand; now tho' Powlahow is 175
King here to all intents & purposes, still there's a family consisting of a
Mother, 2 Daughters & a Son, who, tho' of no consequence in the State, 644
Powlahow cannot eat or drink before, & in many Cases does them Homage; [649]
the Mother was Powlahow's Fathers Sister, of course his Aunt, & these
Daughters & Son his Cousins.[2] We had the Son & one of the Daughters
frequently with us; they are not even Principals of any districts, nor seem-
ingly have any thing at all to do with government, but live a strange
lawless Life, going where they please & doing what they please. It is not 175
unusual here, if any Gentleman sees a Servant carrying Plantains, Yams
or whatever may be, to call him & demand whose property that is, & upon 422
being made acquainted, if he happens to be a Man of less consequence
than himself, he will without any hesitation take any part he pleases, or 565
probably the whole, & send the poor Fellow away about his Business.
This Cousin of Powlahow's, whose Name is Latûla-boolu,[3] one day was by 175
our Tent & saw 2 fellows passing, loaded with ripe Plantains, he call'd
to them & demanded where they were going, they answerd, to Powlahow, 422
upon which he order'd them to bring the Plantains to him, this they not
very readily obeying, he sent two of his retinue who beat them con- 644
foundedly & made the poor fellows bring the Plantains & beg to be ex-
cused farther Punishment; these he wanted to sell but cou'd not find a
purchaser, he then eat as many as he cou'd, gave to some Gentlemen there
as many as they wou'd have & very civilly order'd Powlahows Men to
take the rest to his Master. As to the lower Class of People they certainly 175
can have no redress for the grievances inflicted by the Agee's, be they
whatever they may; this I conclude from Transactions which happen'd 565
immediately before us, for I think it is a very fair inference, if they may
knock their Brains out at their Pleasure, they may certainly do any thing
else they shou'd chance to take in their Heads. One day while we were 175
laying at Anamooka, an Agee orderd the People to retire from our Market
Place, where we were trading for Hogs, Yams &c; they directly moved off, 689
but not being so quick in their Motions as the Agee thought they shou'd, 439
he took up a confounded large Stick, and beat without mercy who ever he 565

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[1] Principles of 'public administration'.

[2] Clerke seems to be speaking of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala, the female Tu'i Tonga, and her children the *Tamaha*; the eldest daughter was Maoungalakepa, the son was Latunipulu. Cf. Cook, p. 136, n. 2 above.

[3] Latunipulu.

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175 cou'd come near; to one poor Fellow he gave such a blow, that he fell
down speechless, had a violent discharge of Blood from his Mouth & Ears
689 & was in very strong Convulsions; I concluded he was murder'd & was a
565 good deal aggravated & surpriz'd at the perfect Ease of the Agee upon the
[439] Occasion, who was no more affected, than if it was a Cock sprawling out
before him; the poor Fellow was taken away in this Condition by some of
his Friends & I believe soon recover'd, for if I'm not much mistaken I saw
175 him, apparently pretty well a few days afterwards. Another instance of the
kind happen'd at Middleburgh;[1] A Man amusing himself looking on at our
684 Market, seemingly as chearfull & free from Apprehension as any Man in
565 the World, when all on a sudden, to the great Surprize of our people, 4 or
5 of the Indians arm'd with Clubs, rush'd thro' the Croud, fell upon him &
beat him to Mummy, they sever'd his Skull, mash'd one of his Thighs &
wou'd not have left a whole bone in his Skin, but our People recovering
from their Consternation & being much hurt at such an appearance of
Cruelty, made them desist; the Man was taken away with some Signs of
Life in him, which however we found soon left him, for he was beat to
peices. Upon enquiring the reason of this terrible business, they told us the
Man had been particularly favour'd by an Agee's Wife; that the People
who beat him, was the Agee himself & his Servants, who had come in
quest of him purposely to knock him on the Head; I ask'd if they wou'd
serve the Lady so too, they answerd no, possibly they might chastise her a
little, tho' not severely: but what is very extraordinary on these Occasions,
the Standers by look on with the utmost indifference, just as tho' they were
Matters of course and in 5 Minutes afterwards are as facetious as if
nothing of the kind had happen'd.

175 We clearly perceive that Powlahow, Feenow, Mallawogga and any of
693 these principal People, can & will order a Man to be put to Death
565 instantaneously, & there is not the least Appeal from their Commands.

These good fellows, with all their Benevolence, Hospitality & social
175 Qualities have one ingredient in their Composition, which is at least a very
inconvenient one to their Neighbours, this is a devilish propensity to
685 theiving: they always went in & out of the Ship just as they pleas'd & in
123 the course of the Day, there were seldom so few as 100 of them on board;
they soon began this slight of hand work upon every thing that they cou'd
catch hold of; what hurt me most was, before I cou'd be at all aware of
them, they stole all my Cats, which were very good ones, & as they did
not take the Rats with them, of which the Ship was full, I felt this proof of
their Dexterity very severely. I frequently detected them in Thefts, then
threatned hard & turnd them out of the Vessell, however this had no
effect; I applied to Feenow, who told me to kill them, or he wou'd kill
them if I pleased; this I by no means approved of, however some Method
must be taken or they wou'd strip the Ship, therefore the next Culprit that
came in my Way, I tyed up & gave a good flogging; all the rest acquiesc'd

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[1] 'Eua.

[1777]

in the justice of this procedure, look'd on with seeming pleasure, and when 175 I turn'd the fellow overboard, tho' there were at least 20 Canoes about, no one for a quarter of an hour wou'd take him up: I adher'd to this Plan, 685 which tho' it did not abolish this confounded custom, it render'd it much 123 less frequent. The Indians themselves so far saw the justice of it, that we had several instances of their detecting a Thief which had eluded the vigilance of our People, & bringing him to me with his stolen Goods; upon these Occasions I always liberally rewarded the Prosecutor & rewarded the Thief. I offerd abundance of fine Things if they wou'd return my Cats, but they were too fond of them, I found them irretrievable. Our general 175 Trade at these Isles were Hatchets Nails, Knives, Looking-glasses, Beads, 439 & sometimes a peice of red Cloth; the Blue & red Beads were what they most esteem'd, any other Colour they put very little Value upon. 123

Our Method was, whenever we went to an Island, one of the first things [822] we did, was to look out for a convenient market Place; here we stationed our People who were adjudg'd to that duty, which were generally the Gunners of the 2 Ships, & here the Natives very regularly brought their Merchandize; sometimes they wou'd bring them to the Ships, where there were likewise people appointed to bargain with them. The Agee's frequently made us large presents of Yams, Hogs &c; this was pleasing, as it kept up that social appearance, which it was both our Inclination & Interest to maintain; but they were always in the End, by far the dearest Provision we got. Every place we went to was deficient in that important [312] requisite, good Water, we got some at them all, but cou'd not denominate it good: at Anamooka it was rather brackish, at the Arpi Isles rather filthy, and at Amsterdam it was both; however it was all I believe very wholesome, for we found no bad effects from the use of any of it, we had no other, & our People were all very healthy, but it was not so palatable as we cou'd wish.

They tell us, that at Vow-Vow (which they say is a large Isle, laying Nº 175 of the Arpi Isles one days sail) there is a very good Harbour with a fine Stream of Water running into it;[1] they tell us too, that there's abundance of 823 excellent Water at a Group of Isles, which they call Fidgi, which they say lie WNW 5 Days sail with a fair Wind from those they call the Arpi Isles where we were: five days sail for one of those Canoes is a great distance, they sail very fast; from all the Accounts I cou'd get, I shou'd conclude the distance about 200 Leagues. These Fidgi Men are the Masters of this part 175 of the World; these People, own they beat and do as they please with them; they are very lavish in the praises of the Country; they say it abounds in 829 every good thing, that the Women are very handsome, and the Men very good, if Friends, but if Enemies they are very devils; in short these our good Friends here, are in perfect dread of them, but they are now upon very good Terms. A Canoe came from Fidgi whilst we staid here; one peculiarity 000 I observ'd in the Men, they had all the Grissle of the Ear cut out, so

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[1] The reference may be to Neiafu, a deep and land-locked harbour.

[1777]

000 that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I under-
stand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at
their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.
● 175 The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use
Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of
411 ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they
177 do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs,
which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows,
with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them
175 to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us,
the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly
829 Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that
the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being
sufferd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at
the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have
no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.
175 Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular bury-
764 ing Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an
Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which
766 they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one
[349] in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn
for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;[1]
in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried &
[769] buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard,
[565] in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the
People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of
[688] People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd
not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a
175 great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here,
765 they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek
Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more
heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd
to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement,
for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon
[785] these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with
whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in
honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst
we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting,
than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by
cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their
Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them;
they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the
left to the Mother.[2]

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[1] This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

[2] This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

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5. KING

AT TONGA, MAY–JULY 1777

[*Adm 55/116*]

f. 74 [20 MAY 1777.] Feenow expressing a great desire to see what exibitions 175 we cou'd make, in the morning the Capt^{n} order'd the marines from 177 both ships on shore, where they went thro their exercise & shew'd the effects of their guns by aiming at an empty canoe; as canoes were at times passing by the place where they stood, they stop'd fir'ing upon any danger of hurting anyone, nevertheless Feenow bid us continue on, & seem'd totally indifferent at the risk; there was a vast multitude collected together, and the principal people from the neighbouring Islands. I know of no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the open space they stood in, could not hold 6000. When the marines had [181] given tolerable satisfaction to the natives, we were bid to stay & see one of their dances; it appear'd evident by the care they took of selecting their principal people as well as putting on their handsomest cloaths and other ornaments, that they meant to rival or surpass us. Whilst they were preparing, 175 two more brought into the space what we call a drum, which 534 however has no resemblance to one. It is a cylindrical piece of wood 4 feet long hollow'd in the inside, yet clos'd at both ends, & open only by a small chink of 3 or 4 inches, running nearly its whole length, & about the thickness of a stout man. The chink being towards them, they beat upon this drum with two round sticks about a foot long & the thickness of a walking stick; this makes a coarse, yet loud & powerful sound, and a little varied by striking the middle or end of the trunk....

f. 74v. We all I believe had the feelings of people that were fairly surpass'd 175 when we little expectd it; & the natives seemd to have the consciousness of 177 being superior to us in their amusements & ask'd us if we woud shew them [181] some more of our meia[1] (which is what they call theyr dances): the Captain said he would in the evening, & desir'd the natives to collect themselves & not be absent. Accordingly in the evening some excellent fireworks were [152] got on shore & preparations made to exibit them; as it was not proper to begin till dark many of the Natives began to move off, but the first sky rocket brought them back; few of us had seen such a variety of good fireworks & we shar'd in the pleasure with the natives; but our admiration was cool, while theirs was expressd with a warmth & violence, which our civiliz'd mode of restraining the passions cou'd never equal & hardly conceive; such roaring, jumping, & shouting, as made us perfectly satisfied that we had gaind a compleat victory in their own minds. Sky & water rockets were what affect'd them most, the water rocket exercis'd their inquisitive faculties, for they coud not conceive how fire shoud burn under water. Omai who was always very ready to magnify our country,

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[1] *me'e.*

175 told them, they might now see how easy it was for us to destroy not only
177 the earth, but the water & the Sky; & some of our sailors were seriously perswading their hearers, that by means of the sky rockets we had made stars.

175 *ff. 82v–83.* MONDAY 23d [JUNE.] Some of our officers had taken a long
177 walk in the country with their muskets, but before they returnd the Natives
609 contrivd to steal them all from them; they desird my assistance to recover
565 them & Omai's, who immediately went to acquaint the King with this very bad behaviour to our principal Officers, he promisd to use his endeavours, but at day light he & Feenow were fled; Fatafee told me that they woud not return for fear of being serv'd as before; that he expectd the Capt^n would wreak his vengeance on him & that he was prepar'd for the worst. Powlohow had two or three times ventur'd to express his dislike at the confinement 2 days ago, & that he believd Capt^n Cook wou'd kill him. It is certain that he dreaded the consequences; the Capt^n was very angry at Omai's interfering in this business. The two chiefs were sent for & promises made that no hurt should befal them, & that the Capt^n did not care whether the Muskets were deliver'd or not; this brought back Feenow in the Evening & Powlohow next day. Powlohow repeatd again that no Gentleman shoud go in the Country without acquainting him, when they should be attended by some of his People who coud protect them, & he also said he coud not be answerable for the conduct of a number of theives about us; the trouble these people gave him & us made him very desirous for our going on board, & he wish'd to be at liberty to go about some affairs of his own. He was however kept from leaving us by the Capt^n promising to go with him to Moa, the place up the Inlet or bay & of his principal residence, the Capt^n & a party accordingly went with him on the 25th. They returnd on the 27th, & during that time we had the good fortune to have preserv'd peace & hinderd thefts, owing to the care of
175 Fatafee & Feenow. A very untoward spirit had posses'd our working
177 parties & soldiers on shore, they had indulg'd the Natives with great
609 liberties, & had made trials of skill in boxing & wrestling with them, although in general unsuccessfull which they did not take so patiently as they ought; this had rais'd a freedom & contempt of our People among the lower sort, & which they shew'd by gestures & acts. This made our sailors & Marines quite angry, which was the principal cause of the others still persisting in plagueing them; they woud laugh, heave bits of wood & run off. Out of respect or fear of Fatafee they never molestd our parties when (being his friend) I was with them; & he himself tried to find out these troublesome fellows. They woud sometimes make very open thefts & glory in it: to put a stop to these proceeding's, Centries were placed by the Carpenters, & loaded with shot with orders to fire if any one was very insolent; at the same time Cutlashes & Pistols which our working men took with them to chastise the Natives were taken from them, & orders [given] that no notice shoud be taken of their childish tricks: but after the Capt^n

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had come down, one man behav'd very rude & tried to snatch a tool, on 175
which the centry fird & hit the man who made off, & those with him. At 177
the same time at another place where they had been throwing pieces of 609
Coco nut to vex some of the Officers they were chas'd, but as numbers were
flying it was not possible to know who were the Agressors, however three
were seiz'd on & bound, till the Captⁿ came on shore; one of the three was
an old Offender, & another was also known to be a principal in making
disturbances, but in the present case was not guilty, the third had been
lug'd out of a hut where it was said he had hid himself; this man was a
servant of Powlahow, who always handed him his Victuals, he said he had
been asleep when this fray happend; Fatafee desir'd he might be releas'd
but his request was refus'd, & he went away. Feenow tried if he coud buy
him off, but as some of the Gentlemen thought they knew the man to be an
Offender, the Captⁿ would hear nothing in any of their favours, but had
them tied up & well floggd; the servant had an additional punishment
besides flogging, which savour'd of cruelty, & gave great offence to the
Chiefs, as well as to all the standers by.[1] The Centry's fyring & this
Punishment put a stop for a time to their insolent behaviour. I shoud have [171]
mention'd one circumstance which shews a strong similitude in the customs [593]
of these People & those of Otaheite: that the wives or relations of some of
these culprits came, & made terrible lamentations, cutting the top of their [304]
head with a Sharks tooth, as is practis'd there.

ff. 85v–86. [8 JULY.] A very extraordinary personage went along with me 175
call'd Latoonoobooloo, he who was shewn to the Captⁿ last Voyage as the
first Chief & whom we had seen at Happai; he had frequently visit'd us at 177
the Observatory, but made a short stay at a time; his temporary hut was 571
on the outskirts of all the rest; he is much madder than his sister whom we 644
have noticed as receiving that particular homage from Powlohow, who 604
we judge from an instance to day is also inferior in some respects to the 565
brother, although in others higher, since this mad fellow walkd in the [609]
procession as a common chief; he was wanting to give me a hog, & not [576]
knowing where else to find me but at Powlohows house, he came there [264]
roaring out for me; Poulohow had just begun his dinner, but the coming
in of this man made strange confusion, the dinner was hastily remov'd or
coverd over with cloth. Powlohow sat seemingly vexd, & very grave, the
attendants star'd at one another; Latoonoobooloo on seeing Powlohow sat
himself down with that strange aspect which was common to him; I
rous'd him from his seat & relievd the Company by taking him & his
attendants with the hog away with me; Although the People were very
conscious of his being wanting in his mind, yet they paid him great respect
& deference, & if he chose any thing they had, he woud take it from them
& give it me; upon farther enquiry who & what this singular person was,
we were told he was the son of Powlohows aunt (living at Va va hoo) by a
Feegee man. There is another sister besides the one here, who lives with her 175

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[1] This was the arm-slashing, which outraged some of Cook's officers also.

mother; whenever we ask'd what they were, & if very superior people, 175
they woud be surpris'd at the Question, & said they were Tamaha's, a 177
distinguishing name higher than any, but what particular meaning is in 644
the word, we coud not find out. Although from their fathers country they 604
might not be intitled to power & Possesions, yet their superior rank may 565
arise from that line, as they generally admit that they are oblig'd to shew [576]
signs of respect to the Feegee chiefs, by folding their hands before their
face & bowing their bodies. Women in this Country enjoy equal Priviledges 562
of honour & respect with the men, for at our Observatory there were 175
two women who had homage paid to them by the Chiefs, & to one of them 602
Fattafaihe used to bow: I understood this woman to be his near relation,
she had her husband with her, who enjoyd none of these marks of honour.

'Eua

f. 86v. [13 JULY] . . . on the top of the hill is a circular place pil'd round 133
with coral stones & one or two large ones in the middle, this place they [349]
call'd Etchee[1] & said it was built as a mark of Powlohows sovereignty; [312]
there was an Excellent spring of fresh water close by it; we met in several places in the chasms of the rocks very good water & which might be conveyd down to where the Natives are, yet they do not appear to regard good water, as they in their houses always gave us indifferent & often very brackish water to drink. We were all delightd with the charming prospect from this hill; the Sea on the SE side of the Island is but at a little distance from it & the land rises in broken hills, rugg'd & cliffy, & is not capable of much improvement, but the NW part of the Island has a fine assemblage of hills & Valleys with extensive Meadows & patches of wood, with now & then a plantation; Yet this kind of Country, which we praise so much, does not answer so well the purposes of what the Natives cultivate as the flat borders by the Sea Side, so that it is in a great measure Waste; but it struck us strongly, as the best calculatd place for Cattle of all the Islands; & we thought that to make the Landscape the most charming one imaginable, woud be sheep & Cattle upon the Meadows & hills before us;
We rather hop'd than firmly believ'd, that the sheep which had been given [177]
to Marrawaggee & now put on shore here woud thrive, since the 2 Yews were very poor & the Ram quite young, however as there are no dogs yet in this Island & as the Natives do not much admire them, they stand a chance of being unmolest'd & from that circumstance may thrive & answer the purpose for which they are left.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 88v–89, 89v–90, with excisions*]

In regard to their numbers I know of no criterion by which to make even a 175
tolerable guess, the Natives followd us from one Island to another, therefore 161
it is not possible to know the number of any one Island we visit'd; at 162
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[1] *esi.*

the time that their entertainments were exhibit'd there might be not short 175
of 12,000 people, who built temporary huts or slept under the trees about 161
the tent; at the Ceremony at Moa[1] we suppose not less than 600 chiefs 162
were assembled, but from these bodies I see no good conclusion to be 609
drawn of the number in either all, or any one of them. From the Nature of
the Country, requiring the labour & industry of the Natives for their 361
support, it cannot be near so populous in proportion to their size as what 311
the Society Islands are; the houses here are by no means thickly scatterd 134
about & many parts in all the Islands are uncultivat'd, owing to the 133
Sandiness & poverty of the Soil in low Islands, & in the high ones to their
elevatd & expos'd situation; besides the larger low Islands have extensive
lagoons & lakes as at Tonga & Anamooka, which considerably lessens the
surface, leaving therefore their population to be gatherd from the nature of
the Country. We will proceed to their Colour, form, & Natural dispositions.

The Friendly Islanders are of a lively brown Colour & a shade darker 142
than Omai. Although many of their principal women were fairer, their
colour resembles that of the Mallays we saw at the Cape of Good hope;
they are in general above the middle size, many very tall men & but a few
under sizd, they are firmly & compactly made about the joints, broad
shoulderd & Muscular, & perhaps few natives exceed them in that form,
which requires both strenght & agility; this is even to be observ'd in their
walking but abundantly shewn in their athletick exercises & dances: their 302
hair I believe is universally black or a dark brown when young, but they 765
have a method of colouring it which deceives one at first; it is not unusual
to see two diff^t colours on the same head, & perhaps one purple; a sort of 175
chalky paste which they very often daub upon their heads turns the hair a
yellow sandy colour; they are still more various in their fashion of wearing
it, being cut short on some parts & others left long, yet as they seem to
admire fine long hair, we rather suppose that when it is even partially cut,
& we know it to be the case when all short, that it is in memory of some
deceas'd friend. There are but few who have beards, but shave very 142
dextrously with 2 shells, laying one under the hair & the sharp point of the 302
one above meeting that of the one below, cuts it close off. The Chiefs have 175
glossy smooth skins preservd so by frequent washing; & as fresh water is 565
scarce, they after bathing in salt water throw over them a few coco nut 515
shells of fresh, which takes the salt which otherwise adheres to the skin, & 312
which gives a disagreeable roughness to that of the common people, &
afterwards rub over their bodies Coco nut Oile perfectly sweet & free from
any disagreeable smell. There are nevertheless many cutanious marks 175
from disorders & from voluntary inflictions; more than half of them are 164
affect'd with the tetter or ringworm, which leaves behind a whitish mark; 765
boils & blotches are often met with, & inflam'd sore Eyes are frequent; few
are free from marks on the Cheek bone, which they make by quick repeating
strokes with the knuckles on the death of their friends or relations,
besides these there are many other disfiguring marks inflict'd on the same

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[1] Mu'a.

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175 account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common,
164 are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when
[765] heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw
several people with their Arms & legs swelld the whole length to a prodigious
size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considerd as
uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick
in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by
175 diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the
304 men are punctulated or as they call it Tatowd, from the loins to half down
171 the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zeeland. The
142 women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The
175 General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they
562 are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh
features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are expressive
& countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be
sourd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard &
tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although
175 custom seems mostly to seperate them on these Occasions. The behaviour
562 of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near
152 Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness
571 & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled
565 respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their
157 Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the
human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a
175 savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of
181 such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble
685 for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we coud
perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given
to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it
would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [*sic*] its commonality by
observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it
arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so
extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal indiscriminately
whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that
[565] cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however
in a great measure free from this crime.

175 *Canoe's*. There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are
501 from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & 1½ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both
ends, & widens from the after end to about ⅓ of its length when it begins
gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is
deckd over, the middle space is left open for the Padlers. The Canoe
consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the
pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd
together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the
outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

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[1777]

edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd 175
to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd to- 501
gether (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd)
by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage
extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth
projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a
hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or
when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above
hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd
away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the
Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1]
some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side
fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the
Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending
in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost
close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger,
well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the
Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out
& stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long,
the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the
depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a
Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet;
the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side
from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff^t sizes & will carry from 30 to 70
people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout.
The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat [412]
building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made [237]
of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these 595
people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are bind- 565
ing, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had
only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether
considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of
doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other
women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had 175
a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does 581
not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their 837
Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are [152]
free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions [609]
with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by [437]
fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by
no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on [565]
their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the [164]
women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

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[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast. [177]

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[1777]

175
581 & many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced
837 that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps
152 from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.
609

437 *Religion.* The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most
565 difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms,
164 as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a
121 very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we en-
175 deavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to
771 have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe
[775] they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every
[673] method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate,
175 that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her dis-
771 pleasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with
776 diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation
[793] of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we
heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They
[184] believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the
Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & difft Islands have different
religions.[1]

175 They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul:
775 they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of
772 a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the
God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well
[776] as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to
the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlastg place to be on this Globe,
shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place
they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance,
[565] upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the
Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird
call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up....

000 TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 100v–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Captn Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

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[1] Different gods, rather.

[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu.

[3] Hikuleo.

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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TONGAN ADOPTION BEFORE THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an ethnographic reconstruction of aboriginal adoption transactions. It is based on recent (1970 and 1971) field work in the 121
Polynesian archipelago combined with archival research on extant nineteenth century documentation. The paper deals with adoption transactions prior to 1875 since aboriginal adoption, as well as numerous other aspects of aboriginal culture, were radically altered as a result of European influence. The Tongan Constitution of 1875 is a landmark for any discussion pertaining to Tonga, for at that time various alterations were rigidly introduced into Tongan culture.

Introduction

The Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga is currently a Constitutional 101
Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. The territorial 131
boundaries of the island kingdom were proclaimed by King George Tupou I (a great-great-great grandfather of the present King) to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W (Anonymous 1887). The islands of Tonga thus fall within a rectangle of the South Pacific some 596 miles north-south by 264 miles east-west.

In approximately 1800, Goldman's most useful "terminal date" for 175
aboriginal Polynesia in general (1970: xxviii), a numerical "guesstimate" of 161
the Tongan population would probably fall within the range of fifteen to
twenty thousand individuals. The most frequently cited figure for early 175
nineteenth century Tonga is that of 18,500 recorded by the American 161
Commodore Wilkes in the year 1840, from data provided by the local 114
Wesleyan missionaries (Rabone 1845:III:29). However, as McArthur has
accurately pointed out, this figure is grossly at odds with a Wesleyan
guesstimate of 50,000 Tongans for the year 1847 (1967:74; *vide* Lawry

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63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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175 1850:245). Archival research in Australia revealed an intriguing census figure
161 for the main island of Tongatapu for the year 1824: 34,800 Tongans
114 (Beveridge 1824). Unfortunately, the good Captain had less the motivations
[162] of a preliminary census taker and more the motives of businessman *cum* sea captain trying to convince the Wesleyan Mission (with whom he had contacts and to whom the letter was written) of the tremendous "sales market" for material goods and nineteenth century Christianity in the archipelago.[1]

Aboriginal Adoption

597 Tongans had at least five distinct terms involving transactions between kinsmen which could be glossed under the one rubric "adoption" (and which have been glossed thusly in the past); these were *tauhi, ngaahi, fakahingoa, pusiaki,* and *ohi.* The recent research suggests, however, that *ohi* is the only term that should be termed "adoption" in aboriginal Tonga. Every time an *ohi* transaction took place there was a distinct and permanent change in (1) the rank and (2) the residence of the adopted individual. These permanent changes did not take place when the first four transactions occurred.

Rank and residence pattern are the two criteria by which adoption must be gauged in aboriginal Tonga. When a child was involved in an *ohi* transaction, that is, an adoption involving the permanent substitution of full rights of parenthood from biological parents to other individuals as parents, the adoptee had a permanent change in his (or her) rank relative to all kinsmen; the adoptee also made a permanent move into the residential area of the adopting individuals. The adopted child was treated as if he or she were actually a biological child of the adopting parents, and all important genealogical positioning was henceforth determined for the adopted individual from the adopting parents. The change in residence meant that the adopting parents were totally responsible for the welfare and up-bringing of the adopted child. Such a residential change could involve a move from one island group to another island group, or changes in residence from one village to another village (or district) on the same island.

Not-Adoption

Adoption in aboriginal Tonga will be clearer after discussing that which
597 was not adoption. *Tauhi,* or "looking after someone," was not adoption since
855 it merely referred to the process by which one individual looked after the child of another individual. Looking after someone was only a transitory transaction and did not involve any change in the rank of the individual who was thus looked after (although it could obviously imply a residential shift).[2]

114 in numerous respects, are not superior to reputable eye-witness descriptions of aboriginal Tonga.[1]

CONTACT AND DESCRIPTIONS

● 175 Part of the Tongan archipelago was first contacted by the Dutch naviga-
177 tors Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with Europeans
followed: 1643 (Tasman), 1767 (Wallis), 1773, 1774, and 1777 (Cook), 1781 (Maurelle), 1787 (La Perouse), 1789 (Bligh), 1793 (D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardière), and 1793 (Malaspina) (see Colson 1885; Tudor 1968: 125–127). These contacts between Europeans and Tongans lasted for periods of a few days to several weeks. The accounts of these men made Europeans aware of Tonga and placed Tonga on Europe's map. The accounts spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the
175 Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be
177 sent European missionaries in the late eighteenth century.

797 The first missionaries were of the Missionary Society of London (form-

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101 [1] Tonga, named by Captain James Cook "The Friendly Islands," is composed of
some 150 to 200 islands and islets with perhaps only 25 percent of those being inhabited.
133 The islands are a form of raised limestone, or volcanic formations and limestone
formations (Anonymous 1944: 16). The most recent work indicates that the total land
131 area of the archipelago is 256.42 square miles, with the Tongatapu Group (the main
island of Tongatapu with surrounding small islands but excluding the island of 'Eua)
having 100.37 square miles of that total or some 39.1 percent (Maude 1965: 218).
161 Tongatapu Island is approximately 99 square miles in area. The estimated population
for the entire archipelago for December 31, 1970 was 86,055 (Tapa 1971: 4).

101 The territorial boundaries of the Kingdom of Tonga were proclaimed by King
George Tupou I to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W (*Tonga Government*
131 *Gazette*, 2: 55, August 24, 1887). The islands of the Kingdom thus fall within a rectangle
of the South Pacific some 596 miles North-South by 264 miles East-West, with the outer islands of the Kingdom being Niua Fo'ou Island to the North at 15°34'S and 175°40'W, and 'Ata Island to the South at 22°20'S and 176°12'W. 'Ata Island is approximately 100 miles southeast of the main island of Tongatapu and Niua Fo'ou Island is approximately 232 miles northwest of the Vava'u group of Islands.

101 Tonga derived its name from the principal island of the group, Tongatapu Island or
'sacred' Tonga. The *tapu* was probably appended to the Tonga because this island became the residence of the leaders of the archipelago. Tongatapu Island was the focal point for the political and religious system in the archipelago prior to and after Euro-
133 pean contact. The Polynesians who settled the archipelago appear to have chosen this
relatively flat island because of terrain and climate. The middle, or Ha'apai group of islands are a series of low islets. The northernmost island group of Vava'u has relatively high hills, with most of the land being at least one hundred feet above sea level (as opposed to Tongatapu Island which is no higher than two hundred feet along the
133 southern or *liku* coast). Vava'u was, and is, subject to more destructive hurricanes than
132 Tongatapu during the hurricane season and it was only on Tongatapu that relative
permanency of Tongan culture and continuity of leadership could be maintained for
182 generations.

ed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society, or LMS) 175
and they arrived at Tongatapu on April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; 177
Wilson 1799: 96). Ten male missionaries landed and some remained until 797
1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One
missionary, Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the
anga-faka-Tonga or 'Tongan way of life' (Vason 1810). The Wesleyan 797
Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August 177
of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied
by his wife and several servants (including Europeans and a Marquesan
islander) (see Lawry's *Diary* for August, 1822). This attempt at Christian
conversion also ended in failure with Lawry being ordered by London to
be "removed from Tonga to Van Diemen's Land" (Lawry, *Diary*: July
26, 1823). Lawry eventually left the island in October of 1823, and it
wasn't until 1826 that a second Wesleyan mission was attempted in the
archipelago. In June of 1826 the Wesleyan missionaries John Thomas and
John Hutchinson arrived, with their wives, and this mission eventually
proved succesful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained
European contact.

The various published accounts of the individuals of this period 114
(1616–1826), combined with twentieth-century field work, have allowed
us to make inferences about aboriginal Tongan culture (Coult 1959, for
example), yet no systematic attempt had ever been made to incorporate
manuscript materials into (1) an aboriginal ethnographic base line, and
(2) an analysis of changing Tongan culture. What were the processes by
which the aboriginal Tongan culture of 1800 developed into the Constitutional
Monarchy of 1875?

The date of 1875 is extremely important in Tongan studies, for in many 178
respects the Tonga of pre-1875 was not the same as the Tonga of post- 177
1875. In 1875 the Tongan Constitution was promulgated by the *Tu'i* 178
Kanokupolu King George Tupou I, with the help of European advice. 177
The Constitution was the result of Western influence on Tonga and the 642
culmination of all of the written Tongan law codes in effect in the
archipelago since 1839. The date of 1850 given in Murdock's *Ethnographic* 177
atlas (1967) for Tonga, for cross-cultural research of a certain type, can 178
be extremely misleading, for by this time two major wars (as a result of
nineteenth-century Western influence) had been fought in the archipelago 114
(1837 and 1840), the Tongan language reduced to a systematic orthography
(c. 1830), and a European-induced codified system of laws had already
been in effect for certain parts of the archipelago for many years (in the
island groups of Vava'u and Ha'apai). Certainly Goldman's most recent 177
work which suggests 1800 as the "terminal date" for aboriginal Polynesian 178

1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859) wrote in one of his manuscript 643
accounts: 644

> Formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga to which the term *Eiki* 554
> or Lord applied, of these the Tuitonga stood first, then the Tamaha, and next the Hau or civil ruler (Thomas MS. 5:1).

The *Tamaha* was the title given to the female child of the sister of the *Tu'i Tonga*, who herself had the title of *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*. The different ranking of the *'eiki* for Thomas and Lawry stems from the fact that there were *Tamaha* before there were *hau*. Included in the *hau* at various points in time were the titled individuals *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* and *Tu'i Kanokupolu*.

The *Tu'i Tonga* was the embodiment of the sacred and the secular in 643
aboriginal Tonga and the nominal leader of all Tongans. In approximately
the fifteenth century, however, a division was made between the sacred 643
and secular aspects of leadership and the *Tu'i Tonga* Kau'ulufonua 175
delegated his secular authorities to a brother, and the title of *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* was begun. A description from a manuscript account, ostensibly "written by [the last] *Tamaha* Amelia, and begun in May the 27th, day of the year 1844" (Collocott MS. 2: 19) provides some basic information on this title. The *Tamaha*, who was described as "the living oracle of the Tongans" (Thomas MS. 5: 59), probably dictated the account since she was well over sixty years of age in the 1840's. The *Tamaha* spoke of the *Tu'i Tonga* Kau'ulufonua and how "he portioned out to each of his brothers an island to be king over" and how he:

> appointed Mougamotua Tui Haatakalaua, and he was to reside at Fonuamotu as he was to be protector of the Tuitonga (as the Tuitongas were apt to be assasinated), and the Tuitonga was safe because his younger brother kept guard over him (Collocott MS. 2:21).

Mo'ungamotu'a was thus the first *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*.

In approximately the seventeenth century a *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* delegated some of his secular responsibilities to a son, and the title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu* was created. The *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua Mo'ungatonga* gave his son Ngata the title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu* and also "royal estates at the West end of Tonga [tapu] called Hihifo" (Thomas, MS. 5: 1).

With the *Tu'i Tonga* responsible for the sacred matters of leadership and the *hau* (either the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* or *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, depending on what period one is speaking about) responsible for secular matters, the *Tu'i Tonga* eventually became dependent on the *hau* for his titled position. The *hau* literally had to have the strength and authority to "install" the
Tu'i Tonga with the title. Consensus and flexibility were always key aspects [571]

65: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 of aboriginal Tongan culture and a leader needed the support of the
175 people around him. Such support came from numerous plural marriages
571 and successful leadership. Laufilitonga, the last individual to hold the title of *Tu'i Tonga*, was delayed in being appointed to his position in the early
643 part of the nineteenth century because of the inability of a secular ruler to support him. Thomas wrote of the *hau* as King, that:

> It is said had the King's party been succesful in the war in the Anga, it was the intention of the King to have presented his daughter Halaevalu to Laufilitonga as his wife, and to have appointed him to office as Tuitonga but though a battle was fought and many fell on both sides — no victory was gained — The evils they had hoped to have removed were allowed to remain — as the King could not remove them — his daughter was therefore not so given — neither was the chief appointed to office, but remained at Vavau where he had been brought up (Thomas MS. 4:192).

643 After the separation of sacred from secular matters in aboriginal Tonga,
554 the *Tu'i Tonga* was still esteemed and revered but more as an intercessor with the Tongan deities. Thomas wrote of the *Tu'i Tonga:*

> [793] The office of the Tuitonga was still esteemed, and became one of vast importance, even as the connective link between the gods and the people; he was not a high priest but a friend, or representative of the gods, his office as with his person was considered sacred (Thomas MS. 5:1).

Other eye-witnesses of the early nineteenth century corroborated this, as the Wesleyan missionary N. Turner relates:

> Many were present at the service this afternoon and were very attentive. The Tui Toga was there, who is by birth and rank according to their former superstitions the greatest Man in all these islands. Tho the nature of his office forbids him to have anything to do with public affairs. According to the ancient customs of Toga he is altogether a sacred person (N. Turner, Letter-Journal dated November 29, 1828, reporting events of October 28, 1828).

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643 Eventually, however, as a result of Western contact (specifically the
177 Wesleyan missionaries in the nineteenth century) the position of the *Tu'i Tonga* was totally eclipsed by that of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu.* Laufili-
643 tonga, the last *Tu'i Tonga*, had eventually been installed in his office in 1827 and held the title until his death in 1865. Although he requested that a *Tu'i Tonga* be appointed after his death, no such appointment was made by the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* King George Tupou. As a point of fact, at a Tongan parliamentary meeting in 1875 King George Tupou stated:

> 644 while it raised the individual in the estimation of all her friends, she was by this
> 554 means brought so near to the gods, as to be a kind of divinity herself to the
> people, and was much sought unto as such (Thomas MS. 5:4).

The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he wrote that "the *Tamaha* is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands" (Webb, Letter-Journal of March 1, 1843, for the events of August 12,
[643] 1842). Where the *Tu'i Tonga* was the representative of the gods on earth, the *Tamaha* herself was virtually viewed as a god.

644 Although the Wesleyans made numerous attempts to convert the
797 *Tu'i Tonga* Laufilitonga to Wesleyanism, they failed (and the *Tu'i Tonga* became a Catholic); on the other hand, the *Tamaha* converted to Wes-
177 leyanism and the missionaries scored quite a coup on aboriginal religious
[643] beliefs when this happened. Thomas wrote in his Journal that "Tamma ha has turned to God — also her brother Fehokohaabai, and all the people of Tungua have turned" (Thomas, *Journal 5*, December 12, 1832). Gradually, Tongan culture changed in the nineteenth century under the pressure of the Wesleyan missionaries.

554 The four titles of *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and
565 *Tamaha* thus represented the core of titles of aboriginal Tongan culture.
643 From these four titles all other titles developed and as Thomas stated
644 (as cited earlier), "formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga"
175 for whom one would apply the term *'eiki* (Thomas MS. 5: 1). The concept
554 of *'eiki* has changed over time in Tonga, but this change has not always
565 been understood and interpreted by all European observers. Writing of
644 these four core titles in the nineteenth century, one astute eyewitness to
643 changing Tongan culture did comprehend the changes in part:

> 178 It may be noticed that the term Eiki applied to the above chiefs and their
> 175 families almost exclusively in gone by days, and was a very choice word, but of later years it has become more common (Thomas MS. A1961: 7).

554 In aboriginal Tonga, individuals closely related to the *Tu'i Tonga* were
565 termed the *Sino'i 'eiki*, literally 'the body of the *'eiki*' (Churchward 1959:
644 430). These included the *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and the
643 *Tamaha*. In aboriginal Tonga, *'eiki* was a concept of nobility, or noble
175 birth. *'Eiki* is not immediately synonymous with 'chief' as numerous
→114 early European observers recorded.

One of the earliest voyage accounts of Schouten and Le Maire from
554 1616 has *Ariki* for 'King' (Dalrymple 1770–1771: II; n.p.). The various
565 vocabularies connected with Cook's voyages have, for the Tongan
175 vocabularies, *'Eegee* as 'a chief' (Anderson, in Beaglehole 1967: 956),
114

Agee as 'chief' (Samwell, in Beaglehole 1967: 1045), and *Eegee* as 'chief' 554
in King's 1821 vocabulary (King 1821: 447). Mariner's 1817 edition has 565
E'gi as 'a chief; a god' (II: n.p.) and with a cross-reference to 'chief' one 175
finds in Mariner "(a noble). Egi; (chief of a district or island) toói; 114
(supreme chief or king) how" (ibid.). By the time of Mariner's 1827
edition, however, some revisions had been made and for *Egi* Mariner has
"a chief; a god; the head man of a party" (1827: II, lvi). This final
definition roughly approximates the range of variation on the concept of *'eiki*
in aboriginal Tongan culture. Not all 'chiefs' as reported by European
observers were *'eiki* to the Tongans and not all *'eiki* to the Tongans were chiefs.

At one point in the past the *Tu'i Tonga* divided his lands between his 554
kinsmen, his *'eiki*. The various *'eiki* established and belonged to their own 565
named groups or *'eiki* of *Ha'a*, a corporate descent group. Various *'eiki* 644
of the *Ha'a* were given titles to represent some specific aspect of the *'eiki*. [613]
When the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Ngata received his title, he gave his own son
who was named Leilua the title of *Ve'ehala* which is roughly translated as
'the wrong-footed man.' With the title of *Ve'ehala* went some land on
Tongatapu. It is the title of the *'eiki* which passed on to another individual 554
when the *'eiki* was no longer able to perform his duties. The title would 565
not necessarily go to the oldest natural son of the *'eiki*. The title could be 428
passed to a brother of the *'eiki;* the title could go to a son of a sister's 613
child, or the title could go to an adopted son of the *'eiki*. In aboriginal
Tonga, succession to titles (and chieftainship) depended on a variety of
factors, including a joint decision of the corporate descent group on the
ability of the prospective *'eiki*, as well as his age, number of wives, and
the number of supporters the *'eiki* could muster if he wanted to be a chief
of the corporate descent group.[*]

It cannot be stressed enough that in aboriginal Tonga consensus 571
and flexibility were key concepts. An *'eiki* who wanted to be a chief of a 554
group of people had to have the consent of the people; and a chief also 565
needed the consent of his fellow chiefs. Even the *Tu'i Tonga* could not be [643]
appointed to the title without the consent and support of either the *Tu'i*
Ha'a Takalaua or the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Thomas wrote in his *Journal*
that "there is a union amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so
that they consult each other before they determine anything" (February
11, 1826). A *Tu'i Kanokupolu* had to have the support of the various *Ha'a* [643]
of Tonga to become *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Thomas recorded how one in- [613]
dividual had given up the *lotoo* or Wesleyan religion: 571
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[*] See Urbanowicz (n.d. [1973]) for a description and analysis of aboriginal Tongan adoption patterns and the changes in adoption and inheritance procedures as a result of the Tongan Constitution of 1875.

This may be how some view the monarchy today, and it would probably be 602
consistent with a statement pertaining to aboriginal Tonga, but it is not [643]
how nineteenth-century (and earlier) Europeans viewed Tonga. Alboriginal [642]
Tonga WAS an extended family, with virtually everyone being able to
trace kinship ties with everyone else. The concept of *'eiki* or noble birth [554]
was a perfectly viable one in aboriginal Tonga, for Tongans knew who [565]
was genealogically related to whom. The fact that only a proven individual 114
could be made a leader of men in aboriginal Tonga also made sense 642
— but this did not make sense to European observers of the time. The 175 ●
Europeans, with European concepts of government, expected to find an
articulating "wholeness" in Tonga; instead, as Wilson's statement makes
clear, to their eyes they found chaos:

> The Government of Tongataboo is so complex in itself, and the natives' account of it so different, each taking a particular pride in exalting his own chief above others, that it is difficult to come to any certainty concerning it (Wilson 1799: 269).

Cook's ealier statement from 1777 is also in keeping with this approach:

> Of the nature of Government we know no more than the general outline, a subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body politic I confess myself totally ignorant (In Beaglehole 1967: 174).

Cook was not "totally ignorant" but he was honest in his reporting.

When the missionaries arrived, particularly the Wesleyans in the nineteenth 177
century, they too were confused — but they did something about 797
it: they did not admit to their confusion and set out to convert a culture! 114
They sent back fantastic reports to Sydney and to London and continued
to receive money and supplies to "convert" the Tongans. It was a fortuitous 177
moment in 1826 when the Wesleyan missionaries Thomas and
Hutchinson arrived on Tongatapu: they brought their own supplies (to 797
augment those abandoned by Lawry when that missionary left in 1823)
to convert the Tongans, they capitalized on the Europeans who had been
living in the archipelago for numerous years, and they also profitted from
the problems of the Tongans. As Thomas relates in his Journal for 1827: 177

> I learn from a young man here, an Englishman, that Tonga at this time is 797
> principally in the possession of petty chiefs. Some few years ago the great men 643
> departed this life and some were killed — even the King's family now have no 669
> power — but these chiefs fought and defended Tonga and they now possess the
> part they have rescued from their enemies, SO THAT AT THIS TIME THEY SEEM
> MUCH CONFUSED, HAVING NO HEAD MAN (Thomas, *Journal*, entry of January 30,
> 1827. Emphasis added.)

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

669 tian stronghold of Nuku'alofa, were preparing to do battle. On Sunday 8
January while the Christians were at worship, the heathens attacked.[56]
669 Token resistance was shown by the Christians on the sabbath, but this was
726 followed up on the Monday by full scale retaliation. Ngele'ia was stormed.
Its fortifications were razed, its buildings burned to the ground, 20 of its inhabitants killed and the remainder taken prisoner.[57]

A week later at the village of Hule the heathen party again attacked the
Christians while they were at worship. The skirmishes on the sabbath were
[727] followed a few days later by massive retaliation. King George and his
warriors stormed the fortress annihilating its population of 300 men, women and children, and reducing the village and its fortifications to a heap of ruins.[58]

669 The part played by the missionaries seems clear enough. They had not
created civil war. Fighting had been going on intermittently since 1797.[59]
797 They had, however, in establishing the new order that was emerging with the widespread acceptance of Christianity, provided a model which allowed the Tongans to fight out their differences albeit with additional and somewhat changed motives.

669 The day before the massacre Thomas chose Joshua v 13-15 as a text
when addressing a crowd of almost 2,000 people at Vava'u.[60] The passage
797 told of a heavenly figure who appeared to Joshua and his army just before
779 the siege of Jericho. The heavenly figure in the story revealed himself to Joshua as 'the captain of the host of the Lord', and it is probable that Thomas assured his hearers that the Lord would provide a similar guardian angel in these latter day assaults on Jericho. In the afternoon of the same day he chose Joshua x, which tells how Joshua responded to a call for help from the Gibeonites who were besieged by heathen foes.[61] In one of the bloodiest chapters in the Old Testament, the biblical historian tells how one after another of the heathen chiefs were set upon by Joshua and his army. The outcome of these battles was always the same and the repetition of the chorus monotonous: 'and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let none

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[113] [56] Spinney to Committee, quoting his Journal, 28 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145); Watkin to Secretaries, 24 Mar. 1837, ibid.; Tucker to Secretaries, 28 Jan. 1837, ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[727] [59] The fighting in 1799 was particularly bloody. A report from a London Missionary Society observer at the time spoke of 'heaps of [bodies] as large as the hull of the vessel . . . fifteen
[175] hundred or two thousand are lying upon one spot piled one upon another . . .'. ML, Hassall Papers, I, 66, CY A859.

[113] [60] Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

[61] Ibid.

[421 cont.]

000 connected the two parts of the island together, which notwithstanding
its agreeable appearance, seemed to be entirely uninhabited. Captain
Cook gave it the name of Hervey's Iile! in honour of the present earl
of Bristol. A bird which resembled a sand-piper in its flight, and
[422] note, had appeared about the ship, the day before we made this
island, and might be said to have announced its proximity, but though
we observed another of the same sort on the 26th, which actually
settled in the rigging, yet we did not fall in with another island.
We held a westerly course from Hervey's Isle, which lies in 19° 18'
south latitude and 158° 54' west longitude from Greenwich, till the
first of October, when we saw land before us about two o'clock in the
133 afternoon. In four hours time we came within two or three leagues of
175 it, and found it of a moderate height; the hills were covered with
trees, and offered a pleasing, though not magnificent prospect. At
the southwest extremity we observed a small rocky islet, and to the
175 northward a low land of greater extent. From thence we judged, that
[101] the isle before us was the same which Abel Janssen Tasman named
Middleburg Isle, in 1643, and that the other to the north, was that of
Amsterdam, discovered by the same navigator. We lay to all night, and
with day-break [October 2] passed round the S.W. point of Middleburg
175 Isle, and ranged its western coast. There appeared to be some low land
245 at the bottom of the hills, which contained plantations of fine young
137 bananas, whose vivid green leaves contrasted admirably with the
different tints of various shrubberies, and with the brown colour of
175 the coco palms, which seemed to be the effect of winter. [423] The
light was still so faint, that we distinguished several fires glimmering in the bushes, but by degrees we likewise discerned people

! [Sic!--Analyst]

[423 cont.]

175 running along the shore. The hills which were low, and not so high
175 above the level of the sea as the Isle of Wight, were agreeably
133 adorned with small clumps of trees scattered at some distance, and
137 the intermediate ground appeared covered with herbage, like many
175 parts of England. It was not long before we perceived some of the
609 inhabitants busied in launching several canoes, and paddling
175 towards us. We threw a rope into one of these canoes which ran up
609 431 close to us, and one of the three people in her came on board, and
201 presented a root of the intoxicating pepper-tree of the South Sea Islands, touched our noses with his like the New Zeelanders, in sign of friendship, and then sat down on the deck without speaking a word. The captain presented him with a nail, upon which he immediately held it over his own head, and pronounced fagafetai,
175 which was probably an expression of thanksgiving. He was naked
291 to the waist, but from thence to the knees he had a piece of cloth wrapped about him, which seemed to be manufactured much like that of Taheitee, but was covered with a brown colour, and a strong glue,
175 which made it stiff and fit to resist the wet. His stature was
142 middle-sized, and his lineaments were mild and tolerably regular.
175 142 302 [028] His colour was much like that [424] of the common Taheitians (9), that is, of a clear mahogany or chesnut brown; his beard was cut short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short frizzled curls, burnt as it were at the tips.

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9. As I shall frequently mention the inhabitants of Taheitee, and of the Society Islands, in comparison with other islanders, it will be proper to observe, that since the natives both of Taheitee and of the Society Islands, are perfectly alike in most respects, I shall indifferently call a custom Taheitian, or usual at the Society Islands, which is common to them both. Therefore, unless I expresly put these terms in contradistinction to each other, I wish to have them understood in general as synonymous.

[425 cont.]
175
609 hesitation, and one of these seemed to be a chief, or a man of some
565 [431] quality, and was accordingly treated with a number of presents,
[201] which he severally laid on his head, when he received them, saying
fagafetai every time. Our English cloth and linen he admired most,
and iron wares in the next degree. His behaviour was very free and
unconcerned; for he went down into the cabin, and whereever[A] we
175 thought fit to conduct him. He likewise told us, upon our enquiry,
101 that the island near which we lay at anchor, (the same which
124 Tasman called Middleburg) was called Ea-Oowhe among his country-men;
and that the [426] other to the north (or Tasman's Amsterdam island)
bore the name of Tonga-Tabboo. We consulted several of the natives,
in order to have greater certainty on this point, and always
received the same names in answer.

175 After breakfast, the captains went on shore with us and the
123 chief, who had continued on board all that time. A bed of coral
175
123 rocks surrounded the coast, towards the landing-place; but many
609 canoes occupied the deep channels between these rocks, and a great
[133] number of inhabitants in them as well as on the shore, shouted for
[439] joy at our approach. The canoes immediately came along side the boat,
[431] and the natives threw great bales of cloth into it, without asking
for any thing in return; while many of both sexes swam about perfectly
naked, holding up some trifles, such as rings of tortoise-shell,
fish-hooks of mother of pearl, and the like, for sale. As soon as
we could make way through the throng of canoes, we approached as
near as possible to the shore, and were carried to it out of our boat,
175 for which the natives very readily offered their backs. The people
609 thronged about us with every expression of friendship, and offered
431 [A] [Sic--Analyst.]

[426 cont.]

175 609 a few fruits, with a variety of arms and utensils. The cordial [431] reception which we met with, was such as might have been expected from a people well acquainted with our good intentions, and accustomed to the transitory visits of European ships. [648] But these kind islanders had never seen Europeans among them, and could only have heard [427] of Tasman who visited the adjacent Amsterdam island, by imperfect tradition. Nothing was therefore more conspicuous in their whole behaviour than an open, generous disposition, free from any mean distrust. This was confirmed by the appearance of a great number of women in the croud, covered from the waist downwards, whose 114 looks and smiles welcomed us to the shore. Mr. Hodges designed this memorable interview in an elegant picture, which has been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The same candour with which I have made it a rule to commend the performances of this ingenious artist, whenever they are characteristic of the objects which he meant to represent, obliges me to mention, that this piece, in which the execution of Mr. Sherwin cannot be too much admired, does not convey any adequate idea of the natives of Ea-oowhe or of Tonga-Tabbo. The plates which ornamented the history of captain Cook's former voyage, have been justly criticised, because they exhibited to our eyes the pleasing forms of antique figures and draperies, instead of those Indians of which we wished to form some idea. But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr. Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from NATURE in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas. The connoisseur will find Greek contours and features in this picture, which have never existed in the South Sea.

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will admire[A] an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight
by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though
all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

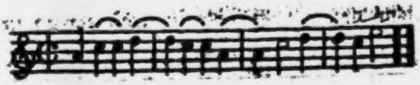
175 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who
123 invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
175 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into
311 a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a
very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green,
which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in
England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most
elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner
of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright,
and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of
a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and
covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

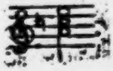
175 [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a
533 considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two
[609] [123] or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceed-
[171] ingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical
when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by
snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

[A] [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account—Analyst.]

[429 cont.]

● 175 533 fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they sung in parts. When they had done they were relieved by others, who sung they[a] same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus. A very ingenious gentleman, who was on this voyage with us, has favoured me with one of the tunes which he heard in this island, which may serve as a specimen to the musical part of my readers.



In this little specimen the music is in the minor key, (a flat third.) They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; singing them rather slow, and sometimes ending with the chord 

175 609 The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture, and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the
175 137 liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was a considerable [430] time before we discovered from whence it proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back of the house, we perceived they were of the lemon tribe, and covered with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant
175 609 262 smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and pomplemoses at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as large as a child's head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

175 417 On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure

351 [a] [sic!···Analyst]

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 417 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
175 of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
123 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
175 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
351 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
137 [417] and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a
bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect
now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of
tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few
bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a
dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety
[126] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed
through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which
175 we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed
123 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of
609 [181] Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we
[171] went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to
accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets
open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a
175 value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed
351 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated
361 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors
before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house,
175 of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate
181 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than
[171] we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171
[181] But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[433] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[23] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[262] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[291] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[35] ~~houses~~ though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips [illegible]
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

175 [432 cont.]
142 the beard shaven or rather clipt by means of a couple of sharp muscle
302 237 shells, (*mytili*.) The women were, in general, a few inches shorter
175 than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Taheitee
141 and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely [433] proportioned down
175 to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate
142 as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large
feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features,
though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general
observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals
there, especially of the principal families, to which none of these
could be compared. The complexion of both sexes here was the same,
a light chesnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect
175 health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately
565 distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this
[142] island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us
[171] to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not
even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his
175 orders that we concluded his quality. The custom of puncturing the
304 skin and blacking it, was in full force among the men, and their belly
[171] and loins were very strongly marked in configurations more compounded
than those of the Taheitians. The tenderest parts of the body were
not free from these punctures, the application of which, besides
being very painful, must be extremely dangerous on glandulous extremities,
and justly excited our astonishment.

_______ et picta pandit spectacula cauda! HOR.

[434]

175 The women, however, were exempted from this custom of disfiguring
304 themselves, and had only a few black dots on their hands. But
besides these, both sexes had three spots on the arms, consisting of
concentric circles of punctures, without any blacking, which I have
175 mentioned before. The men in general went almost naked, having only
291 a small bit of cloth round the loins. Some, however, wore a dress
[171] nearly resembling that of the women. This was a long piece of cloth
[531] made of bark, in the same manner as the Taheitee cloth, but afterwards
painted chequerwise, or in patterns nearly resembling our painted
floorcloths, and covered with a size, which turned the wet for a long
while. This they wrapped round their waist, the men nearly about
their middle, the women more immediately under the breast, and in
[171] both it commonly descended below the knees. Instead of the cloth
they likewise substituted mats, extremely well wrought, in form resembling
those of Taheitee, and sometimes, though rarely, covered
175 even their shoulders and breasts with them. The men frequently wore
301 a string round their necks, from which a mother of pearl shell hung
237 down on the breast. The women often had loose necklaces, consisting
of several strings of small shells, intermixed with seeds, teeth of
fishes, and in the middle of all the round operculum or cover of
[304] a shell, as large as a crown-piece. Both their ears were perforated,
and sometimes with two holes, and a little cylinder cut out [435] of
175 tortoise-shell or bone, was stuck through both the holes. Sometimes
301 these cylinders were only of reed, filled with a red solid substance,
531 painted and lacquered with different colours in regular compartments.
175 The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was,
304 that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both
291

[435 cont.]

175 hands; the differences of sex or age did not exempt them from this
304 amputation; for even amongst the few children, whom we saw running about
[291] naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few
grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an ex-
175 ception to the general rule. We immediately conjectured that the death
304 of a near relation or friend might require these strange mutilations,
171 in the same manner as is customary among the Hottentots, in Africa (10);

10. See Kolben's account of the Cape of Good Hope; also the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, par M. Pauw, vol. II. p.224, 229.

the Guaranos, in Paraguay; and the Californians; and our enquiries,
though unsuccessful at first, afterwards confirmed the conjecture.
175 Another singularity, which we observed to be very general among these
304 people, was a round spot on each cheek-bone, which appeared to have been
burnt or blistered. Some had it quite recent, in others it was covered
with a scurf, and many had a very slight mark of its former existence.
[171] We could never learn how and for what purpose it was made; but we sup-
posed it could only be [436] used like the Japanese moxa, as a remedy
against various complaints.

175 Notwithstanding the engaging manners of the natives, we foresaw
122 that we should make but a very short stay among them, because our
439 captains could not obtain refreshments in any considerable quantity;
which might be owing not so much to their scarcity upon the island, as
to the difficulty of making our goods current for such valuable articles,
175 when they could obtain them in exchange for arms and utensils. They
439 had brought indeed a few yams, bananas, coco-nuts, and shaddocks for
[227] sale, but they soon dropt that branch of trade. Our people purchased
[237] an incredible number of fish hooks made of mother of pearl, barbed with
[171]

[436 cont.]

175 tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Taheitee fish-hooks,
439
237 called witte-witte (11); some of which were near seven inches
175 long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast,
439 their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks
301
[237] for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be
[824] imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches
[531] long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected
together at the bottom by a tissue of the fibres of coco-nut, some
of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black.
175 These fibres were likewise employed [437] in making a great variety
285 of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown
531 and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of
round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into
that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were
elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and
175 patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head,
171 were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in
515
415 which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up
824 the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and
made of the club-wood (*casuarina equistifeolia*), which had this
name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with
175 weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite
411 variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce
manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular,
so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering
into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish,

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227
171 11. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p.218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig 25.

[437 cont.]

175 and pointed; some had long handles and a blade which resembled the
411 blade of a fleam; others were crooked, knobbed, &c. But by far
175 411 the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns,
531 which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible
[412] patience, especially when we consider, that a sharp stone, or a piece of coral, are the only tools which the natives [438] can employ in this kind of work. All the different compartments were wrought and divided with a regularity which quite surprised us, and the whole surface of the plain clubs was as highly polished, as if our best workmen had made them with the best instruments.
175 Besides clubs, they had spears of the same wood, which were sometimes
411 [237] plain, sharp-pointed sticks, and sometimes barbed with a sting-ray's tail. They had likewise bows and arrows, of a peculiar construction. The bow which was six feet long, was about the thickness of a little finger, and when slack, formed a slight curve. Its convex part was channelled with a single deep groove, in which the bow string was lodged, and which was likewise big enough sometimes to contain the arrow made of reed, near six feet long, and pointed with hard wood. When the bow was to be bent, instead of drawing it so as to increase the natural curvature, they drew it the contrary way, made it perfectly strait, and then formed the curve on the other side. The bow-string by this means never needed to be tense, as the arrow received sufficient moment by changing the natural bent of the bow; the recoil of which was never violent enough to hurt the arm. Our seamen, unacquainted with the nature of these weapons, broke several
175 of them by drawing them like other bows. The immense quantity of
181 609 arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific
439

[438 cont.]
175 181 disposition, which had strongly [439] shone through their whole
609 439 behavior towards us, and which still manifested itself in their
readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have some-
175 124 times quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring
islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their
conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on
175 this subject. The several articles above enumerated, together with
439 all their sorts of cloth, their elegant mats, which for workmanship
171 and variety excelled even those of Taheitee, and a great many other
trifles too tedious to mention, they brought to sell, and with great
eagerness exchanged for small nails, and sometimes for beads. But
in respect of the latter their taste was different from that of the
Taheitians; for the latter always chose those that were transparent,
but the people of Ea-oowhe would take no other than black opaque
175 beads, with red, blue, and white stripes. We traded with them till
439 dinner-time, and then re-embarked in order to return on board the
[648] ships; but were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of a
grapnel, which the natives had contrived to steal almost as soon as
it was let down into the water. Their kind looks and acclamations
followed us till we returned on board, where a number of them traded
in their canoes with the same sorts of goods which we had purchased
175 on shore. We saw several persons among them afflicted with leprous
164 complaints, in some of which the disorder had risen to a [440]
high degree of virulence; one man in particular had his whole back
and shoulders covered with a large cancerous ulcer, which was
perfectly livid within, and of a bright yellow all round the edges.
A woman was likewise unfortunate enough to have all her face destroyed

[440 cont.]

175 by it in the most shocking manner; there was only a hole left in the
164 place of her nose; her cheeks were swelled up and continually
oozing out a purulent matter; and her eyes seemed ready to fall out
[439] of her head, being bloody and sore. These were some of the most
miserable objects I recollect ever to have seen; and yet they seemed
to be quite unconcerned about their misfortunes, traded as briskly
as any of the rest, and what was most nauseous, had provisions to
sell.

175 After dinner Dr. Sparrman remained on board with me, in order
122 to arrange our acquisitions of the morning, and my father again
[126] accompanied the captains to the shore, with a view to collect a fresh
supply. They returned about sunset, and my father gave the following
account of this excursion.

175 "At the landing-place the natives welcomed us with shouts as in
439 the morning, and the croud being as numerous as ever, the trade was
carried on very briskly, but provisions were scarce, and shaddocks in
particular not at all to be had, as the season was not yet sufficiently
175 advanced. Mr. Hodges, myself, and one servant, left the trading-place with
123 [441]two of the natives, whom we engaged to become our guides in
case of necessity, and walked up the hill to view the interior part
175 of the country. Our walk lay through a number of rich plantations or
311 gardens, enclosed as before mentioned with fences of reeds, or with
417 137 quick-hedges of the beautiful coral flower, (erythrina corallodendron.)
175 Beyond these we entered into a lane between two enclosures, and
311 observed bananas and yams planted in rows on both sides, with as much
487 [244] order and regularity as we employ in our agriculture. This lane
[245] opened into a fine extensive plain, covered with rich grasses. Having

[441 cont.]

175 crossed it, we met with a most delightful walk about a mile in
311 487 length, formed of four rows of coco-nut trees, which ended in
another lane between plantations of great regularity surrounded
by shaddocks and other trees. It led through a cultivated valley
to a spot where several paths crossed each other or met in one.
175 Here we saw a fine lawn covered with a delicate green turf, and
351 surrounded by large shady trees on all sides. In one corner of it
there was a house, which was empty at present, its inhabitants being
175 probably by the water's side. Mr. Hodges sat down to draw this
126 delightful spot. We breathed the most delicious air in the world,
175 fraught with odours which might have revived a dying man; the sea
[136] breeze played with our hair and gently cooled us; a number of small
birds twittered on all sides, and many amorous doves cooed harmoniously in the deepest shade of [442] the tree under which we were
[137] seated. The tree was remarkable for its roots, which came out of
the stem near eight feet above the ground, and for its pods of more
than a yard long, and two or three inches broad. This secluded
spot, so rich in the best productions of nature, where we sat
solitary with no other human being besides our two natives, struck
us with the idea of enchanted ground, which being the creation of
our own gay fancy, is commonly adorned with all possible beauties
at once. In fact, there could not have been a more desirable spot
for a little place of retirement, according to the elegant imagination
of Horace, if it had only been supplied with a crystal fountain or
[312] a little murmuring rill! But water is unfortunately the only blessing
[764] denied this charming little island. To the left of this spot we
[487] discovered a shady walk, that brought us to another grassy lawn, at

[442 cont.]

175 the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts
764 [487] upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance
[417] of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several
[137] casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves,
were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to
accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and
looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the
bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found
a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but
175 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (toa),
764 here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the
137 171 dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches,
where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down,
certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the
175 funereal cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of
764 ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade
181 the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar
175 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of
764 small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any
175 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and
311 still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses
361 in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of
175 609 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco
175 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found
123 our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately.
[609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed unconcernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

[443 cont.]

175 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
123 609 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175 124 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
197 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
Mahine (or O-Hedeedee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[445]

175 [565] As soon as the captains had delivered their present, they returned to the ships, and the chief came on board with us. Our anchor was weighed, our sails were spread to the wind, and we forsook this happy island when we had scarce discovered its beauties. [439] [565] [609] The chief, after selling a number of fish-hooks for nails and beads, hailed one of the canoes which were passing by, and left us with looks which spoke his friendly, open disposition.

[101] [133] We now sailed along the western shore of Tasman's Amsterdam island, which the natives called Tonga-Tabboo, and found it a very [131] low flat land, compared with that which we had left. The middle of this island is nearly in 21° 11′ S. latitude, and 175° W. longitude. [133] Its highest elevation above the level of the sea, appeared to the [311] [184] eye never to exceed six or seven yards perpendicular. On the other hand, its extent was much more considerable than that of Eaoowhe, and by the help of our spying-glasses, we discovered the same regular plantations which we had so much admired there, and saw the shores crouded with inhabitants, who gazed at us, probably with as much attention as we bestowed upon them. When we were about half way between both islands, or nearly three leagues from each, we were met by several canoes full of men, who attempted to come along-side, but as we happened to be too far to windward, they could only fetch the Adventure, where they came on board.

175 133 [446] In the afternoon we approached the northernmost end of the island, and perceived some small isles connected by reefs to the eastward. Their situation and that of the shoal to the northwest, where the sea broke with great violence, convinced us that we were now arrived at the very place where Tasman anchored in 1643,

[446 cont.]

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and which he called Van Diemen's Road. Here we dropped an anchor upon a rocky bank, and were immediately surrounded with numbers of the natives, some in canoes, and some swimming, though we lay

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about a quarter of a mile from the shore. We found them to be of the same nation which inhabited Ea-oowhe, and their mercantile turn prompted them to bring an immense quantity of their cloth, mats, nets, utensils, arms, and ornaments, which they eagerly exchanged for beads and nails. The ships were no sooner moored, than a prohibition was made against purchasing curiosities, and the natives were told to bring coco-nuts, bread-fruit, yams, and bananas, as well as hogs and fowls, of which we had already learnt the names. We purchased a small quantity of provisions the same evening, to give an example to the rest of the inhabitants, who were obliged to take their merchandize on shore again. The good effects of this step appeared the next morning, when the natives returned from shore at day-break,

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and had loaded their canoes with vegetables and fowls. Many of them came on board as freely as if we had been old acquaintances,

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and did not [447] appear to have the least idea of distrust. One of them, a well made man, with a handsome open countenance, seemed to have some authority among them, like the chief whom we had seen

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on Ea-oowhe. He descended into the cabin, acquainted us that his name was Attahha, and received several presents, among which he sat a high value on iron, and on red European broad cloth. After

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breakfast he went on shore with us in the pinnace. A coral reef surrounded the coast, at the distance of a musket-shot, and a single narrow pass admitted us within it, where we found the water so full of rocks and so shallow, that we were obliged to be carried out of the boat.

[447 cont.]

000 175 out of the boat. A party of the marines were posted on the beach
648 in case of danger, to protect the captain's clerk, who traded for
[439] provisions. The natives did not express either surprize or dislike
at this proceeding, perhaps because they were unacquainted with its
175 meaning. They received us with acclamations of joy as at Ea-oowhe,
609 and desired us to sit down with them on the rocks along shore, which
133 consisted of coral, and were covered with shell sand. We purchased
175 439 several beautiful parroquets, pigeons, and doves, which they brought
231 to us perfectly tame; and our young Borabora-man Mahine (or Hedeedee)
237 traded with great eagerness for ornaments made of bright red
feathers, which he assured us had an extraordinary value at Taheitee
175 and the Society Islands. Here they were commonly pasted to aprons
292 used in their dances, and made of the fibres of [448] coco-nut,
237 824 or fixed upon banana leaves, forming rhomboidal frontlets or diadems, &c.
000 With a degree of extasy which gave the greatest weight to his assertion,
he shewed us that a little piece of feathered-work, as broad as two
or three fingers, would purchase the largest hog in his island.
114 Both this youth and O-Mai were much pleased with the inhabitants of
175 these islands, and began to understand their language tolerably well.

175 We left the beach after the first acquaintance with the natives,
311 and ascended a few feet into a wild forest consisting of tall trees,
[137] intermixed with shrubberies. This wood though narrow, being in
many places not above one hundred yards wide, was continued along
the shore of Van Diemen's road, being more or less open in various
parts. Beyond it the whole island was perfectly level. We walked
across a piece of uncultivated land, about five hundred yards wide,
which adjoined to the wood. Part of it appeared to have been planted

[448 cont.]
175 Part of it appeared to have beem planted
311 with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
[244] [133] in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of *poule sultane*,
[136] resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
[487] a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
[417] enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
[609] [201] the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us
in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or
175 [449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian *tayo*. The
351 enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
184 as at Ea-oowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous
175 shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
137 manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than
at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely
unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of
spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant
with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered
tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object
175 pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
311 which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
181 advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their
works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose,
that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

175 One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
137 which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
[136] far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast
number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[449 cont.]

175 136 but which proved to be bats when we came nearer. They clung to
[137] the twigs, by the hooked claws, which are at the extremity of their
webbed fingers and toes; sometimes they hung with the head downwards,
and sometimes the reverse. We shot [450] at them, and brought
down six or eight at once, besides wounding several others which
held fast on the tree. They were of the kind which is commonly called
the vampyre (12), and measured from three to four feet between the
expanded wings. A great number of them were disturbed at our firing,
and flew from the tree very heavily, uttering a shrill piping note;
some likewise arrived from remote parts at intervals to the tree,
but the greatest number remained in their position, and probably go
out to feed only by night. As they live chiefly upon fruit, it is
likely that they commit great depredations in the orchards of the
natives, some of whom being present when we fired, seemed very well
175 pleased with the death of their enemies. We had seen some of
224 them who had caught these bats alive, and placed them in a cage of
wickerwork very ingeniously contrived, with an entrance like that
of a fish-basket, where the animal could easily be put in, but could
175 not come out again. They likewise assured us the bats were very
825 mordacious, for which purpose they seemed indeed to be well provided
136 with large sharp teeth.

175 We had already observed at Taheitee, at the Society Islands,
764 and even at Ea-oowhe, that wherever we met with a casuarina, a
137 burying-place was at hand. Therefore, at sight of this venerable
[071] tree, which was hung with ill-omened creatures, we immediately conjectured
that it would [451] lead us to a cemetery or place of worship, and

12. La Rougette, of M. de Buffon. Vampyrus of Linné, and Pennant.

[451 cont.]

175 764 137 the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful
green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst
which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild sago-palms appeared with their
various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, as big as the loftiest
oaks, formed one side of it, and shrewed it with their large blushing
175 flowers. At the upper end of it, there was a rising two or three feet
764 high, set out with coral-stones cut square. The area above was
covered with a green sod, like the rest of the lawn. Two steps,
likewise of coral rock, led up to this part, in the midst of which
a house was situated, exactly like that which we saw at Ea-oowhe.
Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of
the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground,
and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with
only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found
the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one
corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was
[304] elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a
[763] man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger
had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his
[532] maduas or parents (13) died, they mutilated their hands. We found two
[778] [171] pieces of wood a foot long, carved [452] into some resemblance of the
human figure, like those which are called e-tee at Taheitee, but they
were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of
respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about.
These burying-places, which are called a-Fayetooca in the language
of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and

13. Perhaps any relations in the ascending line.

[452 cont.]

175 764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described,
114 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted
126 in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

175 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with
123 very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading-
175 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations
123 without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust
609 and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the
contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently
175 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses
351 184 and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully
[352] [123] situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated
[417] from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like
those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside.
In that case only the area,,which this fence enclosed around the
hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in
175 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to
133 the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which
Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped
imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the
north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places
it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely
of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe,
as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left
bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent
revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not
venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[453 cont.]

175 that if we suppose a gradual diminution of the sea, at the rate
133 which they pretend to have observed in Sweden (14), the emersion of
this island must be of so modern date, that it is matter of astonishment how it came to be covered with soil, herbage, and forests; so well stocked with inhabitants, and so regularly adorned as we really
175 found it. We picked up a quantity of shells at the foot of the steep
126 rock, where we sometimes waded in water to the knees upon a reef, on
175 account of the flood tide which was advancing. We likewise met with
439 several natives returning from the trading-place, who sold us a
[286] number of fish-hooks and ornaments, a fish-net made like our casting-nets, knit of very firm though slender threads, some [454] mats and
[292] pieces of cloth. We likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting
[531] of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or
[286] four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells.
175 Finding that the water encreased too fast upon us, we looked out
123 for an ascent to the top of the rock, and having with some difficulty
241 found one, we re-entered the plantations, where we observed the weeds
175 rooted out with great care and laid in heaps to dry. After a long
123 walk, during which we missed our way, and engaged one of the natives to become our guide, we entered a long narrow lane between two fences, which led us directly to the Fayetooca or burying-place we had left before. Here we found captains Cook and Furneaux, and Mr. Hodges,
[565] with a great number of natives, seated on the fine lawn. They were in conversation with an old blear-eyed man, who had a good deal of weight among the rest of the people, and was always accompanied

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14. See the Memoirs of the Swedish Academy of Sciences at Stockholm.

175 [454 cont.]
123 by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had
565 conducted our gentlemen to two fayetoocas, and had pronounced a
[788] solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building,
but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to
him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short
pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
175 with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail,
565 upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From
this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
175 that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their
771 religious nntions, it did not appear that they practised any kind
171 of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration
for birds like the Taheitians, but to worship a supreme invisible
[764] Being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee
and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000 their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious
tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become
acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too
imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs
from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries,
especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity
of mankind.

175 From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk
439 trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought
[293] a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and
[237] polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared
000 to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

[455 cont.]
175 We likewise
534 found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten
[283] slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some
fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied
much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a
notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was
only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips.
It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never
[171] met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the
syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much
175 more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing
533 it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art
[184] is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part,
which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very
far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by
snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of
175 four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had like-
534 wise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German
171 flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians.
175 They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt
531 in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute
322 [534] had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning
[171] figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various
[415] other utensils.

175 It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection,
609 and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives
[831] swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable
[171] number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[457 cont.]

175 609 and were easily persuaded to come on board, perfectly naked,
171 without professing greater chastity than the common women at
831 Taheitee, and the Society Isles. Our seamen took advantage of
175 609 their disposition, and once more offered to our eyes a scene worthy
836 of the Cyprian temples. A shirt, a small piece of cloth, nay a few
beads, were sometimes sufficient temptations, for which some of
the women of Tonga-Tabboo, prostituted themselves without any sense
175 of shame. This lubricity was, however, very far from being general,
836 and we had reason to believe that not a single married woman was
[837] guilty of infidelity. If we had been acquainted with the distinction
of ranks as at Taheitee, it is highly probable, that we should have
observed no other prostitutes than such as belonged to the lowest
class of people. Still it remains an unaccountable singularity in
the character of the nations of this part of our globe, that they
suffer any of their unmarried women to admit the promiscuous embraces
000 of a multitude of lovers. Can they imagine, that after giving such
an unlimited course to the impulses of nature, they will make better
wives, than the innocent and the chaste? But it is in vain that we
endeavour to find reasons for the arbitrary whims of mankind. Their
opinions in respect of the sex in particular, have been infinitely
various in all ages and countries. [458] In some parts of India,
no man of consequence will condescend to marry a virgin; in Europe
she who has lost that character is universally rejected. Turks, Arabs,
Tartars, and Russians are jealous even of an imaginary characteristic
of virginity, which the native of Malabar bestows upon his Idol.

175 None of these women ventured to stay on board after sun-set,
609 but returned to the shore to pass the night, like the greater part

[458 cont.]

175 of the inhabitants, under the shade of the wild wood which lined the
[609] coast. There they lighted numerous fires, and were heard conversing
175 during the greatest part of the night. It seems their eagerness
439 to continue the trade with us, would not permit them to return to
their dwellings, which were probably situated in the remotest part
of the island. Our goods were in great repute with them. Nails,
which the natives commonly hung on a string round the neck, or
stuck through the ear, were very current for fowls, and smaller ones
175 for bunches of bananas, and coco-nuts. Their fowls were the largest
231 we had ever seen, and extremely well-tasted. Their plumage was
commonly very glossy, and beautifully coloured with red and gold.
175 Our sailors bought numbers of them, in order to enjoy the barbarous
439 amusement of seeing them fight. From the time of our leaving Huahine,
000 they had daily followed the cruel occupation of tormenting these poor
birds, by trimming their wings, and incensing them against each other.
They [459] had so well succeeded with those of Huahine, that some of
them fought with the most desperate fury of true gamecocks; but
they were well disappointed with those which they purchased at Tonga-Tabboo, and as they could not make them fight, they were forced to
eat them in revenge.

175 Early the next morning,[A] the captain's friend Attahha or Attagha
565 (see p. 447.)[B] came on board in one of the first canoes, and breakfasted with
[291] us. He was drest in mats, one of which, on account of the coolness of
175 the morning, he had drawn over his shoulders. He resembled all other
565 uncivilized people in the circumstance that his attention could not be
114 fixed to one object for any space of time, and it was difficult to pre-
[126] vail on him to sit still, whilst Mr. Hodges drew his portrait. An

[A] [5 October--Analyst.] [B] [i.e. p. 37-8 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

[459 cont.]

175 565 114 [181] [201] [431] An excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing, which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had received as a present. 175 565 152 231 After breakfast, the captains and my father prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going out of the cabin, he happened to see a Taheitian dog running about the deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree(15) [431] [460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of joy. 175 231 That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct; or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where these animals exist.

126 I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. 175 501 [481] The natives continued to croud about our vessels in a number of canoes, whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

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[197] 15. Ooree signifies a dog at Taheitee; and ghooree at New Zeeland.

[460 cont.]

175 501 construction. The common small trading-canoes were sharp-bottomed, and
ended in a sharp edge at each extremity, which was covered with a board
or deck, because their narrow form frequently exposed these parts to
an entire submersion, which would have filled them with water without
this precaution. They commonly had a slight out-rigger or balancer,
[283] made of a few poles, to pre- [461] vent their oversetting. The body of the
canoe consisted of several planks, of a hard brown wood, sewed together
with strings made of the fibrous coco-nut core, and so artfully joined
[171] that they appeared to be remarkably tight. The Taheitians simply bore
holes in each plank, through which they pass their strings; but by this
means their canoes are always leaky. At Tongo-Tabboo they dub the inside of the plank in such a manner as to leave a projecting list or rim
close to the edge, and through this they pass their threads. Along
the deck or narrow board at each extremity are placed seven or eight
knobs, which seem to be an imitation of the little fins, (*pinnulae
spuriae*) on the belly of bonitos, albecores, or mackarels; and I
cannot but conjecture that the natives have taken these swift fishes
[412] for their models in the construction of their boats. Though these
[237] canoes are commonly fifteen or eighteen feet long, yet they are as neatly
and smoothly polished as our best cabinetwork, which must appear the
more surprising when we consider that the tools of the natives are
[171] only wretched bits of coral, and rasps made of the skins of rays. Their
paddles were equally well polished, of the same wood as the canoe, and
had short rhomboidal broad blades, like those of Taheitee. The other
sort of canoes were constructed for sailing, and persons skilled in
nautical matters acknowledge that they were admirably well adapted for
[171] this purpose. We saw one of them in Maria Bay, consisting of two joined

[462]

175 together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in
501 the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind
[171] of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes (16).

16. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

[532] Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails,
which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure
175 of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented (17). As a

501
114 17. The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17,18.

farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only
to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to
be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with
which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage.
175 I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good
501 construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these
171 islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the
Society Isles.

175 Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we
302 observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were
[237] strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this
powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which
had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height [463]
in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder,
and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of
175 turmerick. St. Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age,
302 very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies:
171 "Ne irrufet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennae!" Thus, by an

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion,
are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives
of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening,
having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island.
At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252
354 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
175
609 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
171 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
252 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
175 our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
431 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
439 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
201
a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.[A] Our goods tempted them at least as much

[A] [6 October--Analyst.]

[464 cont.]

175 648 [170] as they had tempted the Taheitians, and they were consequently equally disposed to pilfer. The captains had not been long on shore the next day, when one of the natives took an opportunity of stealing a jacket out of our boat. In a few moments no less than seven shots were fired, without the captain's orders, though in his presence, at the thief, who first dived in the water, and at last ran into the croud, by which means several innocent people were wounded. Notwithstanding this severity, the good-nature of the people was such, that they did not forsake the trading-place or take umbrage at our proceeding, but heard with unconcern the balls whistling about their ears. A few hours afterwards, one of them was equally nimble on board our ship, and luckily slipping into the master's cabin stole from thence several mathematical books, [465] a sword, a ruler, and a number of trifles of which he could never make the least use. He was seen making his escape in a canoe, and a boat being dispatched after him, he threw all the stolen effects overboard. These were picked up by another of our boats, whilst the first continued in the pursuit of the thief. Our men fired a musket into the stern of his canoe, upon which he and some others with him jumped into the sea. The thief was still hunted with incredible eagerness, but displayed a most wonderful agility, diving several times under the boat, and once unshipping the rudder. At last one of our people darted the boat-hook at him, and catching him under the ribs, dragged him into the boat; but he watched his opportunity, and notwithstanding his loss of blood, leaped into the sea again, and escaped to some canoes, which came from the shore to his assistance. It is remarkable that even such a disposition for cruelty, as had been displayed in the pursuit of this poor wretch, did not deprive

175 [465 cont.]
648 us of the confidence and affection of his country-men. The captains
[565] brought Attagha and another chief on board with them to dinner, and
175 the trade was carried on as quietly as if nothing had happened. The
565 chief who came with Attagha appeared to be of a superior rank, because
[576] the latter, who used to sit at table with us on former occasions,
now retreated a few steps, sat down on the floor, and could not be
prevailed upon to eat in his sight. He was a blear-eyed, elderly man,
and having a great influence [466] on the people in the canoes, was
175 called the admiral by our sea-men. His dress did not in the least
565 indicate his superior dignity, probably because these islanders are
576 little acquainted with the refinements of luxury, though on the
[171] other hand they seem to behave with great submission to their men
of rank, directly contrary to what we had observed at the Society
Isles. The respect which Attagha paid to the other chief, was however
trifling in comparison of that which we heard of on shore after
dinner. Here we found a well-looking middle-aged man, sitting on
the ground at the trading-place, and all the croud forming a circle
about him. Some of our sportsmen acquainted us, that they had met
with him near Maria Bay, where the other natives passing by had
prostrated themselves on the ground before him, kissed his feet,
175 and put them on their necks. Upon enquiry, they had been repeatedly
565 told, that he was the chief of the whole island, in the same manner
as Cookee (captain Cook) was chief of our ships, and that they called
him Ko-Haghee-too-Fallango (18). Whether this was his name or his title I cannot determine, as we never heard it mentioned again by the

[197] 18. Ko is the article in these Islands and at New Zeeland, which answers to the Taheitian O or E.

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)
Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
175 197 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
171 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
[565] the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,
which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the
northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great
correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen
have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo,
and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 [157] other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return
any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman
sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head,
and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 415 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water(21), which was

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565 19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced
197 Aree.

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

[467 cont.]

276
415 [468] served in little square cups made of banana-leaves curiously folded.
175 At his desire, we were very politely presented with this dainty
276 beverage, and in pure civility tasted of it. It had a nauseous in-
[565]
[609] sipid taste, which was afterwards followed by a strong pungency,
175 and its colour was somewhat milky. The holy man took such large and
565 frequent draughts of this stuff every evening, as to become perfectly
[276] intoxicated. No wonder then that his memory failed him, when he
[142] was at prayer (see p. 454)[A] that his whole habit of body was lean
and scabby, his face wrinkled, and his eyes red, and "purging thick
amber (22)." He had great authority among all the people, and a
number of servants attended to supply him with replenished cups.
[431] The presents which he received from us, he retained in his own
custody, whereas Attagha and several other chiefs, gave up to
their superiors whatever the captains had presented to them. The
priest had a daughter, who received many presents from our people.
[142] She was extremely well featured, and fairer than most of the women
of this country, who seemed to pay her some degree of deference. A
fairer complexion, and softer features than those of the common people,
are the natural effects of an easy inactive life, unexposed to the
blaze of a tropical sun, and pampered with a profusion of the best
000 productions of the country. Must we not conclude therefore that the
beginnings of luxury will be introduced even here under the cloak of
[469] religion, and that another nation will be added to the many
dupes of voluptuous priest-craft? So small a spark as the cunning

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175
565 21. Called awa at Taheitee, and kawa at Tonga-Tabboo, and Horne Island,

22. Shakespeare.

[A] [See pp. 43-44 of HRAF manuscript—Analyst.]

[469 cont.]

000 of a single man may in time kindle a dreadful and irresistible fire!
● 175 The obedience and submission with which these people revere their
565 chiefs, are evident proofs that their government, though perhaps not
perfectly despotic, is yet far from being democratical; and this
kind of political constitution seems likely to facilitate the
[171] introduction of luxury. This seems to hold good likewise in regard
to many islands in the western part of the Pacific Ocean, since the
faithful descriptions of Schouten, Le Maire, and Tasman, who visited
them, correspond in every material particular with our own observations.
175 The general disposition for trading, and the kind and friendly
609 reception which strangers have almost constantly met with in every
101 island belonging to this group, prevailed upon us to give these
discoveries of Schouten and Tasman the name of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS.
000 Schouten's boats were indeed attacked at Cocos, Traitors, Hope, and
Horne Islands; but these attacks were inconsiderable, though severely
punished on the part of the Dutch navigator, who, after the first
disturbance at Horne Island, lay there nine days in perfect good
175 understanding with the natives. Tasman, who twenty-seven years
648 afterwards saw several islands near six degrees to the southward of
609 those which Schouten had visited, was received with every demonstration
of peace and friendship, [470] though he was the first European that
discovered them. Whether this behaviour was only a consequence of
the intelligence which the natives of Tonga-Tabboo and Anamocka,
(Ansterdam[a] and Rotterdam Islands,) might have received from these
of Cocos, Hope, and Horne Islands, concerning the superior strength
of the strangers and the havock which they had made; or whether it
was the natural effect of their peaceable disposition, I cannot

[a] [sic!--Analyst]

175 [470 cont.]
648 venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion.
609
000 Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which
he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives
no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single
musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-eastermost isles
belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general
character. He called his discovery the *Archipel des Navigateurs*,
175 justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's
648 time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of
175 Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a
178 space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not
materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition,
175 &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining
439 positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory
[124] of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have
[412] been brought to the island in Tasman's time. [471] We purchased
one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with
rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden
handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is
[415] now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small
earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and
suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards
we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives them-
175 selves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree
171 with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed
[648] petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their
[304]
[565] custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's

[471 cont.]

175 171 and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island
304 565 were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The
000 experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respect-
ful even to servility towards the Dutch; their king prostrated himself
before a Dutch purser and their chiefs placed their necks under his
175 181 foot (23). These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon
meanness and cowardice; but *we* never had reason to suppose them
175 tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly
181 accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of
609 intentions [472] inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming.
Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions
to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of
175 vicious individuals. Dr. Sparrman and myself having left the beach
123 where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered
the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science.
[124] The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three
natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far
as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after,
Dr. Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet,
175 which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives,
123 finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-
648 piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion,
and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become accomplices
in this attack. In the struggle our feet were entangled in a bush,
and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain
his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr. Sparrman, got up

23. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

[472 cont.]

175 123 before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend
[648] joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was
something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow,
our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him
with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling
about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned
to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the
175 people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different
571 little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and
[517] consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in
conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished
the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with
175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular,
142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling
302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what
was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in
175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her
524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples,
perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another
continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity,
175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed
533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different
184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes
175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives
535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list
292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts
124 439 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

175 [473 cont.]
535 of coco-nut core, and ornamented with shell-work and red feathers,
124 or such [474] as were curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of
[292] [439] fretwork. From these gestures I have great reason to suppose that
[171] their dances are of a dramatic kind, and public, like those which
175 I have spoken of in the Society Isles, (See pag. 398). Schouten
171 and Le Maire likewise strongly confirm this supposition by their
[535] account of the dances at Horne Island (24). It appeared, upon

24. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. II. p. 47.

the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have a great affinity with those of the Taheitians, and that it would not therefore be very singular to find a coincidence even in their amusements. The greatest differences between these two tribes, who must have originated from the same stock, seem to be owing to the different nature of their islands. The Society Isles are well furnished with wood, and the tops of their mountains are still
[311] covered with inexhaustible forests. At the Friendly Isles this
[137] article is much scarcer, the surface (at least of those which we
[342] have seen) being almost entirely laid out in plantations. The natural
consequence is, that the houses are lofty and of immense extent in
the first group of islands; but much smaller and less convenient in
[501] the last. In one the canoes are numerous, I may almost say innumerable,
and many of a vast size, and, in the other, very few in number, and
175 much smaller. The mountains of the Society Isles continually attract
171 the vapours from the atmosphere, and many rivulets descend [475]
312 from the broken rocks into the plain, where they wind their serpentine
course and glide smoothly to the sea. The inhabitants of those
islands take advantage of this gift of bountiful nature, and not

[475 cont.]

175 171 only drink of the salutary element, but likewise bathe so frequently
312 in it that no impurity can long adhere to their skin. It is very
different with a people who are absolutely denied this blessing,
and who must either content themselves with putrid stagnant rain-
175 water in a few dirty pools, or go entirely without it. They are
515 obliged to have recourse to expedients in order to preserve a
certain degree of cleanliness, which may preclude various distempers.
175 They therefore cut off their hair, and shave or clip their beards,
302 171 which doubtless makes them look more unlike the Taheitians than they
175 would otherwise do. Still these precautions are not sufficient,
312 especially as they have no fluid for drinking in any quantity. The
175 body is therefore very subject to leprous complaints, which are
164 perhaps irritated by the use of the pepper-root water or awa.
175 Hence also that burning or blistering on the cheek-bones which
304 we observed to be so general among this tribe, that hardly an
individual was free from it, and which can only be used as a remedy
000 against some disorders. The soil of the Society Isles in the plains
and vallies is rich, and the rivulets which intersect it, supply
175 abundance of moisture. All sorts of vegetables therefore thrive
171 with great luxuriance upon it, and require little attendance or
433 cultivation. This [476] profusion is become the source of that
great luxury among the chiefs which we do not meet with at Tonga-
175 Tabboo. There the coral rock is covered only with a thin bed of
433 mould, which sparingly affords nourishment to all sorts of trees;
134 and the most useful of all, the bread-fruit tree, thrives imperfectly
312 on the island, as it is destitute of water, except when a genial
000 shower happens to impregnate and fertilize the ground. The labour

175 [476 cont.]
433 The labour of the natives is therefore greater than that of the Taheitians, and
311 171 accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate
423 division of property. It is likewise to this source we must ascribe
175 it, that they have always set a higher value on their provisions
435 than on their tools, dresses, ornaments, and weapons, though
many of these must have cost them infinite time and application.
They very justly conceive the articles of food to be their principal
175 riches, of which the loss is absolutely not to be remedied. If we
142 observed their bodies more slender and their muscles harder than
461 those of the Taheitians, this seems to be the consequence of a
175 greater and more constant exertion of strength. Thus, perhaps, they
461 become industrious by force of habit, and when agriculture does not
433 occupy them, they are actuated to employ their vacant hours in the
fabrick of that variety of tools and instruments on which they
175 bestow so much time, patience, labour, and ingenuity. This industrious
181 turn has also led them, in the cultivation of all their arts, to so
[171] much greater perfection than the [477] Taheitians. By degrees they
have hit upon new inventions, and introduced an active spirit and
175 enlivening chearfulness even into their amusements. Their happiness
181 of temper they preserve under a political constitution, which does
642 not appear to be very favourable to liberty; but we need not go so
far from home to wonder at such a phaenomenon, when one of the most
enslaved people in all Europe, are characterised as the merriest
[651] and most facetious of mankind. Still there may be more sincerity
in the chearfulness of the natives of Tonga-Tabboo; for, exclusive
of great and almost servile submission, their king does not seem
to exact any thing from them, which by depriving them of the means

175 [477 cont.]
181 to satisfy the most indispensible wants of nature, could make
642 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
651 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
175 171 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
174 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both
these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions
may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various
175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessaries of life, common to both groups of islands,
the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal
ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly
175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F,K, and S,
so that their language is more replete with consonants. This
harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid
letters, L,M,N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we
must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain
even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this
digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122 175 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the
small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty
hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising
[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

[478 cont.]

175 for water, and the master had been sent to the eastward to survey
122
312 Maria Bay, and the low isles which shelter that harbour. The situation
175 of these islands he found very exactly represented in the charts
136 of the ever accurate Tasman, and on one of them where he landed,
he saw an astonishing number of speckled water-snakes, with flat
tails, which are harmless, and distinguished in the system of
175 Linnaeus, by the name of colubri laticaudati. In our branch we
126 had not been unsuccessful, this little island having afforded us
137 several new plants, among which was a new species of jesuit's bark,
or cinchona, [479] of which the bitter bark may perhaps be equally
175 efficacious with that of Peru. We also collected several birds
231 unknown before, and purchased some live species, particularly of
[126]
[439] the parrot and pigeon tribe, of the natives, who seem to be very
[136] expert fowlers. But it did not appear to us, that the pigeons,
[554] which many carried perched on crooked sticks, were marks of
[171] distinction, though Schouten at Horne Island where the same custom
175 prevails, is of that opinion (25). In the last boat which

565 25. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. II. p. 46.
431

609 had brought our people on board in the evening, the Latoo or king
had sent a great quantity of vegetables, together with a whole hog
roasted, or dressed under ground, as a present to the captain. In
the morning therefore, we embarked early in the pinnace, and rowed
[152] to the shore to make a present in return. We found the Latoo sitting
at a little distance from the beach; and captain Cook gave him
a shirt, a saw, a hatchet, a brass kettle, and several articles
of less moment, all which he received with sullen gravity;
this deportment he never varied, except once, when he was seen to
smile as he conversed with Attagha.

000 [479 cont.]

175 smile as he conversed with Attagha. Among the croud, we observed
302 a single man, who differed from all the rest, by having suffered
184 his hair to grow, and having twisted it into several round bunches, which hung wildly about his ears. This man, and the young girl mentioned page 468,^ were the only persons we met with, who had [480] not conformed to the general custom of cutting off the hair.

175 After a short conversation with the natives, of whom we bought
439 a variety of their tools, on account of their elegant carving, we returned on board to breakfast, and immediately after weighed the
175 anchors and set sail. The provisions lying in confused heaps on the decks, prevented our going into the open sea immediately. We therefore kept standing off and on, under shelter of this island, and did not take our departure till towards evening, when we shaped our course southerly.

The next morning [October 8], the weather being nearly calm, we caught a shark, eight feet long, consequently bigger than any
175 we had seen before. In the afternoon we saw the little isle which
101 Tasman calls Pylstaerts Island. This name refers to the birds,
175 which the Dutch navigators observed there, and which in all proba-
136 bility were tropic birds. Pylstaert literally signifying arrow-tail, alludes to the two long feathers in the tail of this bird, from whence
175 its French name of paille-en-queue is likewise derived (26). Its
175 latitude is 22° 26' S. and its longitude 170° 59' W. A contrary S. W. wind which sprung up towards evening, obliged us to cruize about till the 10th in the morning, when we came [481] in sight of this
[133] little islet again. It is of a moderate height, and has two hummocks,

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131 26. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. p 75. where they are called wild ducks.

^ [See p. 55 of HRAF manuscript--Analyst.]

[481 cont.]

175
133 of which the southernmost is the highest. We recovered the trade-
000 wind by degrees, so that we were out of sight of this island about two o'clock in the afternoon, and having bid adieu to the tropical islands of this ocean, directed our course a second time towards New Zeeland. We had now made such good use of the four months, after our departure from thence, as to have crossed the South Sea in the middle latitudes, in the depth of winter, examined a space of more than forty degrees of longitude between the tropics, and refreshed our people at Taheitee, the Society Islands, and the Friendly Islands during one and thirty days. The season for prosecuting our discoveries in high southern latitudes advanced, and the savage rocks of New Zeeland were only to give us shelter, whilst we changed our fair-weather rigging, for such as might resist the storms and rigours of more inhospitable climates.

[160 cont.]

000 The English and French navigators have charged each other with the introduction of this detestable disorder among the harmless and hospitable Taheitians; though they have long been acquainted with it, and are not ignorant of the art of curing it (2). Nay, it seems that their simple diet, the salubrity of their climate, and a long space of time, have abated the acrimony of the virus, and brought it to that inactive state to which it is now reduced in South America. I am far from supposing, that the venereal complaint has been carried to America from Europe; no, the same causes which could give birth to it in one part of the world, are sufficient to produce it every
175 where else. The commerce of our crews with the women of Tonga Tabboo,
164 [836] and the Marquesas; nay, their remarkable connections with the salacious
[177] females of Easter Island, had no sinister consequences. It may be inferred from thence, that the infection has not yet broke out at those islands, though such inferences are sometimes [161] fallacious (3); for captain Wallis left Taheitee without having a single venereal patient, though the distemper is now proved to have existed there
000 before his arrival. It is also beyond a doubt, that the New Zeelanders (4) were afflicted with this disorder before any Europeans had an intercourse with them.

We passed the island of Mowrua in the afternoon, and stood to the westward with a favourable trade-wind. On the 6th, at eleven in the morning, we descried an island, which captain Wallis named after lord Howe. It is very low, consisting of coral ledges, which

2. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 233.

3. See vol. I. p. 369.

4. Ibid. p. 239.

[166 cont.]

000 colour with which it was daubed. We tried to fire again, and at last my piece, loaded with small shot, went off, and Mr. Hodges fired a ball, which did no execution. At the same time a regular firing began behind us from our party, who having observed our retreat, had likewise viewed another troop of the natives coming down by a different path to cut us off. The effect of the small shot fortunately stopped the natives from rushing upon us, and gave us time to retreat to our men, who continued to fire with great eagerness, while any of the natives remained in sight. Two of these in particular, standing among the bushes, brandished their weapons in defiance a considerable while, but at last retired, one of them appearing to be wounded, by the animal howl which we heard presently after. We now embarked, and resolved to abandon a set of people, whom no entreaties could prevail upon to become our friends. The nature of their country, which is almost inaccessible, seems to have contributed to make their [167] tempers so unsociable. The whole island is purely a coralrock, like that of the low islands, on which we saw very few coco-palms, and no useful trees. I have therefore formed a conjecture, that the interior parts are not so barren, but fit for the culture of nutritive vegetables. The general resemblance of this island to a coral ledge raised out of the water, almost leads me to suspect that it includes a fertile plain, which was once a lagoon. Whether a convulsion of the globe, or any other cause, lifted such a large piece of coral rock forty feet above water, is a point which must be left
[171] to future philosophers to determine. The boats and arms of the natives^
[175] resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, and it is therefore probable that the people have the same origin; but their numbers are inconsiderable,

^ [of Niue, i.e., Savage Island--Analyst]

[167 cont.]

000 and their civilization little advanced, since they are savage, and
[171] go naked. Their island seems to be about three leagues long, and
[175] was called Savage Island. It is situated in 19° 1' S. and 169° 37' W.

Having reached the ship, the boats were hoisted in, and the next morning we continued our course to the westward. A large high-finned whale, which was seen near the ship, spouted up the water, and several birds and fish attended us as usual.

122 On the twenty-fourth [June 24, 1774] at night we lay to, as
[177] we expected to be very near A Namoka, or Rotterdam Island, one of the
[175] Friendly Isles discovered by Tasman in 1643. Breakers [168] were
heard a head at two o'clock, and the land appeared at day-break.
122 We stood for it, and soon found it to consist of several low islands,
133 connected by a vast reef. Another great reef lay to the northward,
175 and we passed between them. At noon a canoe came off towards us,
609 though the nearest land was above a league distant. We discerned
175 two men in it, who stood on a long while, but at last, seeing that the
181 ship gained upon them, they put about and returned. We could not
175 help admiring the difference between this race, and the savages
whom we had so lately left, and agreed that the name Friendly was
122 very justly given to them. The wind slackened all the afternoon, and
died away to a perfect calm during night. We approached so near
one of the reefs by this means that we ran great risk of being wrecked;
but a breeze springing up in the morning, we were out of danger in a
short time.

The next morning [June 26] we sailed between reefs and small
133 islands, which made the water smooth. The islands had a little more
137 elevation than the common coral islands; they were covered with groves
175

[168 cont.]

133 and tufts of trees, which gave them a most enchanting appearance.
137 The houses were seen in great numbers among the trees on the beach,
175 and the islands had an air of happiness and affluence. One of these
361 181 little gardens rose at its east end into a white perpendicular cliff,
175 with something like horizontal strata. At our distance it looked
183 like the bastion of a ruined fort, and being fringed [169] with
137 175 woods and palms, formed altogether a romantic view. Towards noon
609 the wind slackened, and canoes put off from different islands to visit
175 us, though they were above a league distant. Some of them worked so
hard, that they were near us in less than an hour; and when they were
about to musket-shot off, they began to call to us from time to time,
still continuing to paddle towards us. Three persons were in the
canoe, exactly like the natives of Ea-oowhe and Tonga-Tabboo, whom
489 we had seen in October, 1773. When they were along side, a few beads
175 and nails were presented to them, for which they immediately sent a
[824] [609] bunch of bananas, and some delicious shaddocks (citrus decumanus) on
[592] the deck, besides a bunch of the red fruits of the palm-nut tree or
pandang (athrodactylis) which is a sign of friendship. This being
done, they sold us all the shaddocks and fruit which they had, and
609 came on board. In the mean while the other canoes arrived, and acted
175 without the least caution, as if we had been long acquainted. They
103 taught us the names of all the islands in the neighbourhood, that
175 with the high cliff they called Terrefetchea; the other, which we
admired so much for its beauty, Tonoomea: both these lay to the eastward of us. Mango-nooe (great) and Mango-eetee (little) were two
islands to the west of us; and to the S.W. beyond them lay Namokanooee and Namoka-eetee; the first of which Tasman has called Rotterdam

[169 cont.]

103 175 Island, or Anamocka.

[170] After dinner the breeze freshened, and we sailed towards
122 Namoka, which was the largest island of this group. The number of
439 175 canoes encreased about us, they came from all the neighbouring islands
with fruit, fish, and pigs, all which they disposed of for nails
and rags.

We had soundings all the day between these islands, at first
133 175 in forty and fifty, and afterwards, when we came nearer, in nine,
122 twelve, fourteen, and twenty fathom. About four o'clock having
hauled round the south end of Namoka, we came to, on the lee or west
side of it, where Tasman formerly lay. Our distance from the shore
133 was about a mile. The coast of the island rose fifteen or twenty feet
175 nearly perpendicular, after which it appeared almost level, having only
a single hillock near the middle. This steep shore had some resemblance
to the coast of Savage Island, which we had lately left, but the
137 richness of its woods was infinitely greater. Innumerable coco-nut
175 palms out-topped the woods, and ornamented the island on all sides.

Whilst we were coming to an anchor, one of the natives caught
648 175 the lead, and tore the line which one of our people was heaving. He
was desired to return it, but took no notice of the captain who spoke
to him. A musket with ball was fired through his canoe; upon which
he calmly removed to the other side of the ship. Our demand was
repeated, and proving ineffectual again, was enforced by a load of
small-shot, which made him smart. He instantly [171] paddled to the
head of the ship, where a rope hung overboard, to which he tied the line
439 and lead. His countrymen were not satisfied with this restitution;
685 they turned him out of his canoe, and made him swim on shore, whilst
175

[171 cont.]

489 they continued to trade with us. They sold us coco-nuts, excellent
175 yams, bread fruit, bananas, shaddocks, and other fruit. They also
[685] brought purple water-hens alive, and a fine well-tasted sparus ready
dressed in leaves; also a curious stringy root baked, which contained
a very nourishing pulp, of such a sweetness, as if it had been boiled
in sugar. All these things were eagerly bought for nails, which were
184 esteemed according to their size, and for pieces of our cloth. Their
175 canoes, their persons, dress, customs and language so entirely
resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, that we could perceive no difference.
203 As this island is at a short distance from Namoka, it is not improbable
175 that the inhabitants of the latter might have heard of our arrival
there in October, 1773.

193
The next morning [June 27] captain Cook landed early in a sandy
175 cove, which is accurately described by Tasman. It is enclosed by
a reef, and has a narrow entrance for boats at the south end. It is
[489] so shallow, that our boats could only come in at high water. The
captain purchased a pig, and was conducted to a pond of fresh water
at a short distance from the beach, the same where Tasman had supplied
609 his ships with water. The hospitality of the natives was exercised
175 [172] in its utmost extent, and one of the handsomest ladies of the
[836] island complimented the captain with an offer, which was not accepted.
648 Having examined the watering place, he returned on board to breakfast,
175 and gave strict orders, that no persons infected with or lately cured
of venereal complaints should be suffered to go on shore, and that no
609 women should be admitted in the ship. A number of ladies came off in
175 several canoes, and seemed very desirous of making acquaintance with
our sailors; but after paddling about the ship for some time, they were

[172 cont.]

609 obliged to return to the shore, very much discontented. Immediately
175 after breakfast, Dr. Sparrman, my father and myself accompanied
439 175 captain Cook to the shore, where a trade commenced for shaddocks and
yams, which the natives sold us in prodigious quantities. Bananas
and coco-nuts were scarce in proportion, and bread-fruit still more
291 rare, though the trees of these sorts were very numerous. All the
175 men went nearly naked, a slight covering on the loins excepted; a few
of them, however, and most of the women, were drest from the waist to
the ankles, in a piece of stiff painted cloth made of bark, wrapped
several times round them, or in mats.

As soon as our boats reached the shore, the clamours of all those
439 175 who had something to sell became so excessively loud, that we hastened
137 into the country, whose aspect was very inviting. A considerable
241 variety of plants covered the [173] ground in wild luxuriance; and the
175 great number of plantations of all sorts, made the whole island resemble
487 a beautiful garden. The fences which had confined the view at Tonga-
175 Tabboo, were here much less frequent, and only enclosed one side of
[417] the path, leaving the other open to the eye. The ground was not
487 137 perfectly level in the interior parts, but rose in several little
241 hillocks lined with hedges and bushes, which formed a most agreeable
175 prospect. The path which we met with, sometimes went under long rows
of lofty trees, planted at considerable distances, between which the
ground was covered with the richest verdure; sometimes a thick and
impenetrable arbour of fragrant shubberies vaulted over it for a
considerable space, and hid it entirely from the sun; sometimes
342 plantations, and sometimes wilds appeared on both sides. The houses
175 of the natives were of a singular structure; their height was about

[173 cont.]

342 eight or nine feet; but the walls, which were not perpendicular,
175 but converged towards the bottom, were not above three or four feet from the ground, and very neatly made of reeds. The roof converged into a ridge at the top; so that the section of the house resembled a pentagon. It was thatched, and the roof projected beyond the sloping walls of the house. In one of the long sides there was always an opening about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground, which served instead of a door. The length of the house never exceeded
353 thirty feet, and the breadth was [174] commonly eight or nine. The
262 inside of these houses was always filled with large roots of yams,
175 which seem to be the chief support of the natives. To sleep upon
519
175 them must be extremely uncomfortable; and yet a few mats are only spread over them at night, which custom has made acceptable to these
[352] people. Those narrow little stools, on which the Taheitians rest the
342 head, are extremely frequent here, and serve the same purpose. We also
175 observed several open sheds, on a few posts, like some which we had seen at Tonga-Tabboo. These were laid out with mats, and seemed to be
609 intended for their abode in the day-time. In our ramble we passed by
175 a number of these habitations, but saw very few inhabitants, they being mostly at the trading place. Those whom we met were always very civil, and bowed their heads, saying, *leleī* (good), *woă* (friend), or some such word, to mark their good temper and disposition. They were our conductors; they brought us flowers from the highest trees, and birds out of the water; they often pointed out the finest plants to us, and taught us their names; we needed only to show them a plant of which we wished to have specimens, and they would go to any distance to procure it.
[431] Coco-nuts and shaddocks they readily offered to us; and willingly carried

[174 cont.]

609 great loads for us; a nail, a bead, or even a small rag of cloth,
175 being considered as a valuable present in return. In a word, they
[439] were on all occasions ready to oblige us.

133 [175] In the course of our walk we found a large lake or lagoon
175 of salt-water, at the north end of the island, which at one place
reached within a few yards of the sea. It was about three miles
long, and one wide. Three little islands full of trees, arranged in
most picturesque manner, served to ornament this fine piece of water, of
which the shores also captivated the eye by their variety and beauty.
The inverted landscape on the water, rendered this scene still more
beautiful, especially as our point of view was an eminence, where
many tall trees and thick shrubberies screened us from the sun.

133 No island, which we had hitherto visited, had offered so great
137 variety of views to us in so small a space; nay, we had no where found
175 such abundance of beautiful flowers, so agreeably contrasting their
various tints, and mingling their sweet scents to perfume the air.
136 The lake was full of wild-ducks, and the woods and shores abounded with
439 pigeons, parroquets, rails, and small birds, which the natives brought
175 for sale.

489 At noon we returned to the trading place, where captain Cook had
175 purchased a great quantity of fruit and roots, a few fowls, and one or two
small pigs. When we arrived on board, we found they had been equally
successful there in the purchase of provisions. The whole poop was
loaded with shaddocks, which we found a most delicious fruit, of
excellent flavour; and of yams we had laid in such a quantity, [176]
that we eat of them every day for several weeks afterwards instead of
biscuit. Arms and utensils, the usual articles of trade of these

[176 cont.]

439 islanders, had likewise been plentifully sold, especially by several
175 people who came in large double sailing canoes from the neighbouring
609 islands. While we were at dinner, one of our shipmates was observed
175 on shore, surrounded by a great croud of natives; but no further
notice was taken of him, though he made signals for a boat. One of
our trading boats, which was sent ashore as soon as the crew had dined,
came near the place where he was stationed, and took him on board.
It proved to be our surgeon, Mr. Patton, who had been in the most
imminent danger of losing his life, by being carelessly left upon the
island without support. From his account it is very plain, that even
among these kind and well disposed people, there were some villains who
greatly resembled the wretches that infest our civilized countries.
He had left the landing place, and engaging a single native in his
service for a few beads, had rambled over great part of the island.
His success in shooting was considerable; the native carried eleven ducks,
with which he returned to the sandy cove. The boats having already left that
place, he was something disconcerted, and the croud pressed about
him, conscious that he was in their power. He walked therefore to
the rocky shore, just abreast of the ship, where our people saw him.
In going thither, the man who carried [177] the ducks endeavoured to
drop some of them; but Mr. Patton luckily turning about at that moment,
he picked them up again. The croud now pressed close about him,
and several of the men threatened him with jagged spears, whilst
nothing but the appearance of his fowling-piece kept them in awe.
[831 Several women were set on by the men, to draw him off his guard, by
126] a thousand lascivious gestures and attitudes; but his situation was of
too serious a nature to permit him to attend to them. After some time

[177 cont.]

609 a canoe arrived from the ship, and Mr. Patton agreed with the owner
175 to carry him aboard for a nail, the last which he had left. Just as he was stepping into the canoe, they snatched his fowling-piece from him took all his ducks except three, and sent away the canoe. He was greatly astonished and alarmed, and resolved to return to the top of the rock, where he expected to be more easily distinguished from the ship, from whence he hoped for assistance. The natives now laid aside all reserve, and began to pluck at his cloaths. He readily suffered them to snatch his cravat and handkerchief; but they also seized his coat, and resumed their threatening gestures with such violence, that he expected every moment would be his last. His anxiety and agony cannot well be painted. He put his hands in all his pockets to search for some instrument, a knife or the like, with which to defend himself; he opened it, and held it out [178] upon the croud, who perceiving it hollow, instantly flew back to the distance of two or three yards he continued to point this formidable weapon against the enemy, whose spears were still lifted against him. The meridian sun shone burning hot upon him; he had walked the whole day, was spent with fatigue, and began to despair of saving his life, when a handsome young woman, remarkable for her flowing curls, which hung down on her bosom, took pity on his wretched condition. She stepped forward from the croud, with the greatest humanity and compassion expressed in her eye; innocence and goodness were so strongly marked in her countenance, that it was impossible to distrust her. She approached, and offered him a piece of shaddock, which was eagerly and thankfully accepted, and gradually supplied him with more, till he had consumed the whole fruit. At last the boats put off from the ship, at sight of which the whole croud dispersed; only his generous benefactress, and an old man, who was her

[178 cont.]

609 father remained sitting near Mr. Patton, with that unconcern which
175 a noble and virtuous conduct inspires. She enquired for the name of
her friend; he told her that which the Taheitians had given him, Pateenee;
and she immediately adopted it, changing it into Patseenee. On
stepping into the boat, he gave her father and her a few presents, which
he borrowed from the crew, and with these they returned to their groves
highly pleased. When Mr. Patton [179] came on board, he acquainted
captain Cook with the danger to which he had been exposed; but though
he had only followed the example of many of his shipmates, by reposing
confidence in the natives, yet the loss of his fowling-piece was considered as a proper punishment for his imprudence. The afternoon was
[126] spent in different rambles on shore. My father, with a single sailor,
walked over a considerable part of the island, without the least molestation
from the inhabitants, and brought on board a number of new plants.
[614] No other complaints arose against the natives this day, except some
petty thefts, at which they were expert like their brethren of Tonga-Tabboo and the Society Islands.

122 The next morning [June 28] early we discovered several islands to
the N.W. of us, which a haze in that quarter had hitherto screened from
193 our sight. The two westermost were high, one peaked, but the other
175 more extensive. A thick smoke arose from the last, on which, during
the night, we had observed a fire. The natives who came on board acquainted us that this fire was constant, so that we concluded it to
103 proceed from a volcano. They called this island Tofooa (5), and the
peak close to it e-Ghao (6). To the northward of these two we discerned

193
175 5. Tasman calls it Ama-Tofoa in his map. Ama or kama probably signfies a mountain.

[179 cont.]

103 6. Tasman calls it Kaybay in his map.
183 thirteen low islands, each of which the natives named to us.

175 [180] We hastened ashore after breakfast, to resume our enquiries.
122 We soon left the beach, where the natives were again assembled in great
137 numbers of both sexes. A most beautiful kind of lily (crinum asiaticum)
126 was the first plant which we met with and several others, not less valuable,
175 were collected soon after. We came to the watering-place, which was a
312 pond about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards long, and fifty broad;
175 it contained stagnant water which was somewhat tainted with a brackish
taste, and might perhaps have subterraneous communications with the
salt lagoon, which in one place adjoined to it. Lieutenant Clerke, who
648 175 superintended the waters, told us that his musket had been nimbly snatched
137 away by one of the natives, who instantly ran off with it. We advanced
175 to the salt lagoon, and botanized, among the spacious man-groves which
[124] surrounded it. These trees occupy a vast space of ground, and grow more
and more intricate by age. Their seeds do not drop off, but shoot down
from the top of the tree, till they reach the ground, where they take root,
648 and spread new branches. Whilst we were here, we heard three great guns
175 fired; but the sound being broken by many intervening objects, we suspected
that they were only muskets overcharged as usual, by some young gentlemen
609 on a shooting party. We left the lake soon after, and passed through a
175 plantation, where the natives bowed to us very kindly, and invited us to
648 sit down amongst them. [181] We were desirous of making the most of our
721 time, and therefore soon left them, and returned to the fresh-water pond.
175 Having fired a musket at some wild-ducks, which were in great plenty, we
were called to by Mr. Gilbert, the master, who told us that a volley of
small arms, and three cannon had been fired to alarm and bring us back,

[181 cont.]

648 because a fray had happened between the natives and our people. We joined
721 him in a few minutes, and found with him the captain, and a file of marines,
● 175
[519] together with two natives, who sat on their hams, and from time to time
pronounced the word wòa, which signifies "friend." We supposed that the
theft of Mr. Clerke's musket had given occasion to this disturbance; but
this was too trifling a circumstance to be resented. The cooper, in mending
the water-cask, was not sufficiently attentive to his adze, and one of the
natives had snatched it up, and conveyed it away. The captain, in order
to recover this valuable instrument, of which however there were no less
than a dozen in the ship, ordered his people to seize several large double
canoes, which had probably arrived from different adjacent islands. They
performed his command, and Mr. Clerke's gun was brought back by the astonished
648 natives. But this was not sufficient, and another canoe was seized. A
721 native, who stood upon it, defended his property, which he had forfeited
164 by no offence, and took up a spear, which he seemed resolved to employ
175 with good effect. Captain Cook levelled his musket at him, and bid him lay
[182] down his arms. He refused, and received a load of shot through his
wrist and thigh, at the distance of eight or nine yards, which immediately
648 brought him to the ground. The volley was now fired, and a boat sent off
721 to the ship, where three canon[x] directed against the highest point of the
175 island, were fired off one after another. It was thought that the natives
would now have left us; but a great part still remained on the beach
conscious of their innocence, and some canoes continued to ply about the
648 ship. The behaviour of one of the natives upon this occasion was so
721 remarkably stoical, that our people could not help taking notice of it.
439
437 He had a small canoe in which he always met the other canoes before they
175 reached the ship, took out what he liked, and paid their owners, a certain

x[sic!---Analyst]

[182 cont.]

648 small price in European goods, which he had before obtained by
721 barter. With his new cargo he returned to the ship, and always made
439 437 a considerable profit upon his bargain. As he never failed to visit
175 each canoe, our sailors called him a Custom-house officer. He was
lying close to the ship, bailing the water out of his canoe, when the
guns were discharged not two yards over his head. Notwithstanding
the extraordinary concussion at so short a distance, he never once
looked up, but continued to bale, and afterwards to trade as if nothing
had happened.

We had not long rejoined the captain and his party when the unlucky
648 175 adze was brought back, which had [183] been the occasion of so much
mischief. A middle-aged woman, who seemed to have great authority,
had dispatched some of the people after it, and they returned at the
same time a cartridge-box, and Mr. Patton's fowling-piece, which
[482] appeared to have been concealed under water. The wounded man was
brought to us on a piece of wood carried by men. He seemed almost
without sensation; and was set on the ground, whilst the natives gradually
returned, and began to take courage. The women in particular, were
very desirous of restoring the general tranquility, and their timid
looks seemed to charge the behaviour of the strangers with cruelty.
They seated themselves on a fine green turf, in a group of fifty or
more together, and invited several of us to sit by them. Each of
them had some shaddocks, which they broke in pieces, and distributed
142 to us with every mark of kindness and peace. Mr. Patton's friend
175 was one of the foremost, and indeed claimed the first rank among the
beauties of those islands. Her nature was graceful, and her form
exquisitely proportioned. Her features were more regular than any I

[183 cont.]

142 had ever seen in these isles, full of sweetness and the charms of youth.
● 175 Her large dark eyes sparkled with fire, and her ebon curls floated
[291] on her neck. She was of a lighter colour than the common people
and wore a brown cloth which closely embracing the body immediately
under the breast, but being somewhat wider [184] towards the feet,
perhaps suited her better than the most elegant European dress.

648 Mr. Patton having been sent for, arrived with proper instruments,
175 and dressed the wounds of the poor native, whose countrymen brought
[752] many banana leaves, which were laid on over the dressing. A bottle
of brandy was given them, with directions to wash the wounds with the
liquor from time to time. The wound was not dangerous, as it happened
in a fleshy part; but as the distance was so short, the shot had torn
the flesh very much, and made the wound very painful to the poor man.
After this we distributed some beads, and departed making various signs
499 of friendship. The natives like those of Tonga-Tabboo, were strangers
175 to resentment, and continued to trade with our ship as before. They
seemed to possess a truly mercantile spirit, and spared no trouble
[196] to obtain some of our goods or curiosities. Among the rest, they were
much delighted with a great number of young puppies which we had
taken on board at the Society Islands, on purpose to stock such islands
as were not provided with them. We left two couple on Namoka, of which
502 the natives promised to take particular care. These people managed
481 their canoes with surprising agility, and swam with the greatest ease.
175 Their common trading canoes were neatly made, and polished like those
501 175 which I have already described. But those of the neighbouring islands
were of a great size, and some [185] of them contained upwards of fifty
people. They always consisted of two large canoes, fastened by a

[185 cont.]

501 tranverse platform of planks, in the midst of which they had erected
175 a hut, where they placed their goods, their arms, and utensils, and where they passed great part of their time. There were likewise holes, which gave admittance into the body of each canoe. Their masts were stout poles which could be struck at pleasure, and their sails were very large and triangular, but not very proper to sail by the wind.
[283] All their cordage was excellent, and they had also contrived a very good ground tackle, consisting of a strong rope with large stones at the end, by means of which they came to an anchor.

122 We went on shore again after dinner, as captain Cook proposed
126 leaving this island the next day. We passed through several fields and wild shrubberies, and collected a number of valuable plants.
[439] We also made a purchase of several arms, such as clubs, and spears, and of some utensils, viz. small stools, large wooden dishes and bowls, in which the people prepare their victuals, and some earthern pots
719 which seemed to have been long in use. The great abundance of their
175 arms, does not agree with their good-nature and hospitable disposition,
[181] unless they quarrel with their next neighbours, like the people of
[531] Taheitee and the Society Islands. But they seemed to have spent too much time [186] in ornamenting their clubs, to have frequent occasion to use them.

122 At day break the next morning [June 29] we unmoored and set sail, standing towards the island of Tofooa, on which we had again observed
439 the volcano burning during night. A whole fleet of canoes followed us
175 several miles, trading with a variety of articles, particularly their dresses, utensils, and ornaments. Some of them likewise brought fish of different sorts, which we had found very well tasted.

[186 cont.]

133 The island of Namoka, which we left after a stay of two days only,
162 was not above fifteen miles in circuit, but seemed to be remarkably
populous. It lies in 20° 17' S. and 174° 32' W. In the group
131
175 of islands which appeared around it, its size was the most considerable
133 but all seemed to be well inhabited, and very rich in vegetable pro-
162
137 ductions. They are situated on a kind of bank, on which there is from
175 nine to sixty and seventy fathom water, and the soil is probably
133 the same in every island. Namoka consists, like Tonga-Tabboo, of a
175 coral-rock, covered with a rich mould on which all sorts of vegetables
[194] thrive. We had no time to examine the hillock in its centre, which
seems to have had a different origin, and may perhaps be volcanic.
At present it is wholly covered with the richest groves, like the
312 rest of the island. The abundance of fresh water in the pond, is an
175 advantage which the people of Namoka enjoy [187] in preference to those
[515] of Tonga-Tabboo; but it does not appear that they bathe so regularly
as the Taheitians, perhaps because the stagnant water is not very in-
[823] viting. Its advantage is however so much felt, that the natives brought
[415] it to the ship in calabashes, and did the same to Tasman, which implies
that it is looked upon as a valuable article among them. The abundance
137
175 of water, and the richness of the soil likewise seems to be the reason,
that bread-fruit and shaddock trees are much more frequent, and all
[417] vegetation infinitely more luxuriant than on Tonga-Tabboo. The fences
on that account are not laid out, and kept up with that extreme
regularity, though they are still preserved in part. The long walks
of fruit-trees, and the delightful green turf under them, were rather
to be compared to the richest spots on Ea-oowhe, or Middleburg Island.
The tufted arbours which vaulted over the paths, are hung with beautiful

[187 cont.]

187 flowers of all kinds, many of which filled the air with fragrance.
175 The variety of scenes formed by many little risings, and different
groups of houses and trees, together with the lagoons, conspire to
511 adorn this island. The fowls and hogs which we saw in the
175 neighbourhood of every dwelling, the prodigious number of shaddocks
which lay under every tree, hardly noticed by the natives, and the
quantities of yams which filled their houses, gave a picture of
abundance and affluence which delighted the eye and comforted the heart.
000 At sight of plenteous prospect, [188] human nature feels an instinctive
satisfaction, and good humour and joy are soon revived in the most
dejected breast. Amidst the dismal scenes of our voyage, these intervening moments are remarkably contrasted, and therefore had a great
effect upon us. It is so natural to dwell upon pleasing subjects,
that I hope, I need not apologize for my frequent descriptions; and I
must refer the reader to Mr. Hodges's view in the interior parts of
Namoka, which will give an idea of a farm in that island. It is
engraved and inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage.

184 The natives, who were happy enough to call these fertile groves
175 their own, did not appear to me to differ in any respect from those
142 of Tonga-Tabboo, and Ea-oowhe. Their stature was middle-sized, their
141 colour a bright chesnut brown, and their whole body well proportioned,
175 without being corpulent. Their punctures, their dress, the customs
184 of clipping the beard, and powdering the hair, their arms, utensils, and
175 canoes, their language and manners were exactly such as we had noticed
554 at Tonga-Tabboo. But in the short time which we staid on their island,
175 we could not observe any subordination among them, though this had
strongly characterised the natives of Tonga-Tabboo, who seemed to

[188 cont.]

554 descend even to servility in their obeisance to their king. At Namoka
175 we could not distinguish any persons of superior rank or authority,
unless we except the man, whom our sailors called a Custom-house officer,
302 and who inspected all [189] the canoes which came to the ship. The
554 woman who sent for the stolen things, appeared also to have some sway
175 among them; and since there is reason to suppose, that women whose
hair are allowed to grow long, have some prerogatives above the rest
in the South Sea (7). Mr. Patton's friendly benefactress seems to
have been a lady of a superior class, which her whole deportment confirmed. She was the only woman with long hair whom we saw on the island.
642 I am far from concluding that the people of Namoka have no fixed
175 government; on the contary, their vicinity and similarity to other
islanders, amongst whom a monarchical government takes place, and the
example of all the other islanders of the South Sea which former navigators have examined, give the greatest room to suppose the same
184 existing there. The general coincidence of their manners with those
764 of Tonga-Tabboo, strongly prove that they have the same origin, and
175 probably the same religious notions; but not withstanding this
agreement, I never found a fayetooka or burying-place, during my rambles
upon Namoka, nor did any one of our shipmates meet with a place in
any wise resembling the burying-places which we found at Tonga-Tabboo.

101 It appears, from the accounts of former voyagers, that between
175 the meridians of 170° east from Greenwich, and [190] 180°, there is
a great number of islands, from the 10th to the 22nd degree of latitude,
all which, as far as they are known, seem to be inhabited by one race
of people, who speak the same dialect of the South Sea tongue,

7. See vol. I. p. 327.

[190 cont.]

101 and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then
175 might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably
well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo
is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent
islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean.
161 We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we
175 suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed
182 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions,
164 keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy
175 prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all
517 their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the
53 South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass
175 away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and
discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one
181 of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is
609 active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite
175 [439] than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have substituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from
171 those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
175 [191] these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Taheitians,
[181] who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections
[517] to confine them to outward shew and specious appearances. However
there are many luxurious individuals (arreoys) at the Society Islands,
whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people
of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only
have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

122 The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon

[191 cont.]

122 to several low islands, all which seemed to be well inhabited and
fertile, like so many beautiful gardens. After dinner the wind became
contrary, and abated, so that we rather lost than gained ground.
439 A few canoes came up with us again, for the natives spared no labour
175 to obtain our nails and rags of cloth. Towards evening we were surrounded by a little fleet, and the trade was very brisk, chiefly
for the utensils and arms of the islanders, which are made with
remarkable neatness.

648 The canoes returned once more to us the next morning [June 30]
175 putting off at day-break from all the little islands in sight. Their
502 appearance and their sailing afforded us much entertainment. Before
175 the wind they go extremely swift, being well contrived for that purpose,
and their broad triangular sail gives them a very picturesque form
122 at a distance. We left them in a short time, when the breeze freshened,
and [192] sailed towards the two high islands, which we had discovered
439 whilst we lay at anchor. In the afternoon three canoes came up
175 with us again; and one of them, with 50 men on board, traded with us
101 just as we were in the narrow passage between both islands. The larger,
175 to the southward, which is called Tofooa, appeared to be inhabited.
197 Some of the natives on board our ship told us it had fresh water,
175 [312] together with coco-nut, banana, and bread-fruit trees. We saw indeed
a number of palms, and a great quantity of the club-wood. The whole
island, though steep, was in some places covered with verdure or shrubbery.
133 Towards the sea, and especially towards the other island, the rocks
175 seemed burnt, and black sand covered the shore. We approached within
a cable's length of it, but found a depth of eighty fathom, which
prevented our coming to an anchor. The rocks towards the passage,

T [192 cont.]

133 which was not above a mile across, were cavernous, and in some places
175 had a rude columnar shape. The day was somewhat hazy, and the top of the island was therefore covered with clouds. The smoke however rolled up with impetuosity, and seemed, before we had passed the strait, to issue from the other side of the mountain. As soon as we had passed it, it appeared to arise from the side which we had just left. This deception proves, that the top of the mountain was hollow, or formed a crater, from whence the vapour was thrown up. There was a spot on the N.W. side of the island, somewhat below [193] the place where we saw the smoke come out, which had the appearance of being lately burnt: it was destitute of verdure, though the mountain on both sides of it was covered with various plants. When we came exactly into the line in which the smoke was carried by the wind, we had a small shower of rain, and many of us felt it very biting and sharp, when it dropped into our eyes. It is probable from thence, that it carried down with it some particles which the volcano had ejected. The wind being at S.S.E. and freshening, we left this island, without being able to make any further observations upon it; though it well deserved the attention of the learned, who make the revolutions which our globe has undergone, the object of their useful and curious enquiries.

L
122 We sailed to W.S.W. and continued the same course all the next day
175 [July 1]. The following day, very near noon, we discovered land, which,
177 from the direction of our track, had never been seen by other navigators. We ran toward it, and before night approached pretty near it; but found breakers before us, which obliged us to tack all night, for fear of an accident. Several lights which appeared on shore as soon as it was dark,

131 and 175°40'W, and 'Ata Island to the South at 22°20'S and 176°12'W. 'Ata Island is approximately 100 miles southeast of the main island of Tongatapu and Niua Fo'ou Island is approximately 232 miles northwest of the Vava'u group of islands.

133 The Kingdom of Tonga consists of some 150 to 200 islands and islets, with perhaps only 25% of these being inhabited. The islands are a form of raised limestone, or volcanic in origin, or a combination of marine volcanic formations and limestone formations (Anonymous 1944: 131 16). The most recent work indicates that the total land area of the Kingdom is 256.42 square miles, with the Tongatapu Group (the main island of Tongatapu with surrounding small islands but excluding the island of 'Eua) having 100.37 square miles of that total or some 39.1% (Vide Maude 1965: 218). Tongatapu Island is approximately 99 square 161 miles in area. The estimated population for the entire Kingdom for December 31, 1970 was 86,055 (Tapa 1971: 4).

European Contact

175 177 Part of the Tongan archipelago was first contacted by the Dutch navigators Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with Europeans followed: 1643 (Tasman), 1767 (Wallis), 1773, 1774 and 1777 (Cook), 1781 (Maurelle), 1787 (La Perouse), 1789 (Bligh), 1792 (Edwards), 1792 (Bligh), 1793 (D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere), and 1793 (Malaspina) (Vide Colson 1885: 257ff.; Tudor 1968: 125-127). These contacts between Europeans and Tongans were sporadic and lasted for periods of a few days to a few weeks. The accounts written by these

● 175 177 voyagers, and individuals connected with the voyages, made Europeans aware of Tonga and placed it on Europe's map of the world.

175 797 [177] The various published accounts of the European voyagers, especially the descriptions made by Cook, spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be sent European missionaries in the late 18th Century. They were sent specifically to convert the indigenous Tongan population to Christianity. The first missionaries of the Missionary Society of London (formed in 1795), later termed the London Missionary Society, arrived on Tongatapu, April 10, 1797 (Benson 1960: 113; Wilson 1799: 96). Originally, ten male missionaries landed. Some remained until 1800, but the attempt at religious conver- [563] sion ended in a debacle. One missionary, George Vason, married a Tongan woman and was converted to the anga-faka-Tonga or "Tongan way of life" (Vason 1810).[1]

797 The Wesleyan Missionary Society established a mission station on Tongatapu in August of 1822 manned by one missionary, Walter Lawry, who was accompanied by his wife and several European servants (Vide Lawry's Diary for August 1822). This attempt at Christian conversion ended in failure with Lawry and his wife departing the island in October of 1823 (Ibid., October 1823). In 1826 a second Wesleyan attempt at establishing a mission station on Tongatapu was made by the missionaries John [177] Thomas and John Hutchinson and this mission proved successful. From 1826 onwards Tongans entered into sustained European contact.

127 797 This research is based, primarily, on accounts, in English,

127
651 The period of the 'inasi was a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased
796 (Thomas MS. 5: 20). During the nine-day period of the ceremony,
singing, dancing, and games took place (Ibid.; Wilson 1799: 259;
[782] Mariner 1817, II: 207-215). This was all part of the religious aspect
involving the giving of thanks to the gods and the acknowledgement of
[565] their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a area were redistributed
[793] among the chiefs and priests of the various deities, including the
[643]
[437] Tu'i Tonga representative of the deity Hikuleo.

127 The following description from an eyewitness of the 1797-1800
175 period clarifies the interrelationship between chiefs and deities:

776 651 796 565 782

> Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to think their prejudices are strong. Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their own particular patron. The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions, represented by several chiefs of those districts; so that their natches and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offering made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their yams are set, to procure the favour of futtafaihe: and the other when they gather them in, expressive of their gratitude [stress added] (W. Smith 1813: 155).

127 Smith's description of the two "natches" or 'inasi 'ufimui and 'inasi
[796] 'ufimotu'a corroborates what Thomas later wrote concerning the two
[651] ceremonies. The description that each Tongan "family of note" has a
[776] deity "whom they consider as their particular patron" helps to clarify
the significance of the Takai-Fae relationship discussed earlier on the
hikitanga (see pages 71-76).

101 square miles. Nuku'alofa, with an approximate population of 15,000, is the largest city 162 in Tonga and the capital (14).

II. A Review of Medical Practices in Tonga

175 A fairly detailed description of medical practices in Tonga is found in *William* 114 *Mariner's Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (17, pp. 240–273). This 177 account was related to J. Martin by William Mariner, who was shipwrecked somewhere in the archipelago in the early 1800's. The first Europeans to arrive in Tonga were missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1797.

757 Martin reports that around the year 1800 few plants were used in treating illness. [753] Sickness was thought to originate from an outside force, and all remedies used by the Tongan were reasonably categorized by Martin into three groups: invocation, sacrifice, and external operations. When plant remedies were employed, they had no effect either upon the disease or the patient. Martin states that such remedies were held in "little esteem," for when the reigning king's daughter became seriously ill plant medicines were not considered (17).

752 Martin does refer, however, to the uses of three plants. To reduce opthalmic inflam- 278 mations, the juice of the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*) was used. Following circumcision, the end of the penis was wrapped in the leaf of *gnata'i* (*Erythrina* spp.?). And the ulcerated sores of venereal diseases were treated with powder of turmeric from the fleshy rootstock of *Curcuma longa*.

757 Martin states that "the idea of giving 177 (plant) infusions was first taken from the 177 natives of the Fiji Islands." The Tongan also learned the practice of surgery in Fiji, 177 where constant wars afforded great oppor- 752 tunities for practicing this art. The three most important operations then practiced in Tonga were *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis (drainage of fluid from the chest cavity); *tocolosi*, or an operation to cure tetanus; and *broca*, or castration.

755 Charms and amulets were not employed in ceremonies for the patient. Sacrifices [782] were common, and horrors such as *tootoo-*

often called *kainangaefonua* (eaters of the soil) because it was believed by the chiefs and by most commoners that they turned into vermin after they died, though some commoners doubted this belief (Martin 1827. II:122-4). 775 565

There was no moral condition of any kind for the entry of souls to Pulotu. The sole condition appeared to be chiefly birth. Failure to comply with the laws of the community was punished during one's lifetime either by the chiefs who had absolute power over their subjects or, it was believed, by the gods and spirits of deceased relatives who could inflict disease or misfortunes upon transgressors. 681 565 693 784

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tonga was politically stable. Abel Tasman, who visited the group in 1643, observed that the people of Tongatapu, the main island, carried no weapons, the country was peaceful, and the land was well cultivated (Kenihan 1964:50). 175

This stability was due to the reciprocal relations and balance of interests existing between the various classes of Tongan society. At the top of the social pyramid were the *ha'a tu'i* ('kings'). Immediately below this stratum was that of the *hou'eiki* (chiefs), then the *kau mu'a* (sons of a union between a chief and a *matāpule*), the *ha'a*[7] *matāpule* (chiefs' attendants), and *kau tu'a* (commoners) in that descending order. At the bottom of the scale were the *kau pōpula* (slaves) (Gifford 1929:111). The protection and jurisdiction offered by the chiefs ensured for the commoners security for both their lives and their property. It created and maintained peace and order, which ultimately resulted in prosperity and contentment. Partly from a deep sense of obligation, besides personal loyalty, gratitude and affection, the commoners were only too eager to carry out their responsibilities towards their chiefs. These included working for the chiefs, giving them the first fruits of their crops and the best of everything they possessed, and fighting for them when the chiefs decided to go to war. In addition, the absolute and arbitrary power of the chiefs, who usually dealt out rather severe punishments, together with fear of divine retribution for violations of the taboos, served as a deterrent 565 [693] [681] [784]

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[7] The word *ha'a* in this context means class.

565 which helped to maintain stability, peace and prosperity in the
[693] land.

With the expansion of population the local chiefs gradually
[681] consolidated their power over their own areas, and the authority
[784] of both Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Kanokupolu became nominal
and ceremonial. Actual power rested with the chief of various
565 localities or *kāinga* (the equivalent of the modern village in
631 Tonga).[8] Unlike the Samoan village where authority was vested
643 in the village *fono,* at which the *matais* (titled heads of the
families) discussed matters affecting the village before they were
565 implemented, the powers of the village chief in Tonga were absolute
622 and arbitrary. The Tongan *fono* was simply a compulsory assembly
[621] of the people to receive instructions from the chief. Offenders
were not brought to public trial as was the case in Samoa. Any
565 major offences were dealt with by the chief whose decisions were
622 absolute, punishment frequently being meted out on the spot, either
627 by the chief himself or by one of his powerful henchmen. This
absolute power of the ruling chiefs, however, contained the seeds
[695] of the system's own destruction. As chiefly ambitions grew they
565 fostered local autonomy, thus threatening the political unity of
622 Tonga as a whole.

True, the country, during this period was economically pros-
631 perous, and life was easy and peaceful. Yet, at the same time,
the vigorous and ambitious young warrior chiefs did not find
● 175 enough excitement in such a life. The immense variety of newly
found riches, and the stimulation which contact with the outside
world brought to the Tongans, especially during the eighteenth
century, whetted the appetites of the young chiefs for further
power, wealth and excitement. It was when they began to misuse
their power for purely selfish ends that corruption crept in followed by serious disturbances. There ensued a period of political
turbulence and misery after the relatively peaceful, orderly, and
prosperous years of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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[592] [8] Apart from the *'api* (household) there were three main socio-political
[596] units in Tonga. The smallest was the *fa'ahinga* (extended family), headed
by an *'ulumotu'a* who was either a chief, petty chief or *matāpule* (chief's
[621] attendant). Next was the *kāinga,* headed by a ruling titled chief. The
[613] largest unit was the *ha'a,* a loose confederation of genealogically related,
but autonomous, chiefs and their *kāinga.*

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

The growing contact with Fiji had quite a significant impact on 175
the new developments in Tonga. The Tongans highly prized a
variety of products which were either not available in their home 177
islands or which were superior to anything of a similar kind which 175
they had at home, such as spears, bowls, huge double canoes, 177
pottery, sandalwood and the scarlet feathers of the Fijian parrots.
So coveted were these articles that, in spite of the difficulties of 439
sailing to Fiji, the voyages gradually became regular (Thomson
1894:320). Seemann (1862:240-1) wrote: 175

177

> Up to this period the Tonganese had been peaceful traders . . . 484
> Gradually they adopted a different line of policy. Being men of
> athletic frames, of courage and daring, they were often asked to [439]
> assist in the feuds in which chiefs friendly to them engaged, receiving
> canoes and other property in return for their services. From being
> mere mercenaries, they gradually began to act on their own responsibility,
> readily avenging every outrage from time to time committed
> against any of their countrymen on the smaller islands of the eastern
> group. . . .

Such exploits became extremely popular among young chiefs in
Tonga who were thirsty for excitement and renown. They only had [554]
to join a party going to Fiji for canoes to place themselves in the
way of gaining honour and fame enough to satisfy the most
ambitious, for in Fiji 'there were alarums and excursions in plenty,
war and rapine, easy living at the expense of their Fijian hosts,
and freedom from the restraint of their elders' (Derrick 1963:122).

From these experiences, the young chiefs brought back to Tonga 175
not only goods but also some cruel and revolting habits which were
regarded by some of their fellow chiefs at home with great 177
admiration. A list of these barbarities preserved in the old traditions
were recorded by Thomson (1894:320):

> The cold-blooded treachery that will betray a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy, and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 484 [868] [565] Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions, as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an integral part of the upbringing of young chiefs. Hence the rapid increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during the eighteenth century.

175 This intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in
Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate
177 to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism
[266] and strangling of widows were introduced and became more and
[768] more common; 'Warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji
fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery,
[721] murder, and rebellion resulted' (Derrick 1963:122-3). When
175 Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that, although
he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peace-
721 ful. On his third voyage, in 1777, he named Lifuka, the main
114 island of the Ha'apai group, Friendly Island. He was entirely
unaware that on the very same occasion there was a plot to
assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by
a disagreement among their chiefly hosts as to whether to carry
out the plot by day or by night (Martin 1827. II:71-2).

175 669 634 At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began to appear, particularly in Vava'u. Vuna, a brother of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Ha'amea, went to Vava'u in order to quell the unrest and to restore allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied by one of his nephews, Tuituiohu, son of Mataele Ha'amea, who went as Vuna's *le'o kava* (guardian of *kava* protocol), and by some of the lesser chiefs of the *ha'a* Havea. However, after staying in Vava'u for a while, Vuna abandoned his original intentions and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u) and establishing his own court at Pangaimotu, an island off Vava'u (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote).

175 643 Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu. One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position. However, when Maealiuaki's son, Mulikiha'amea, decided to

vacate the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tupoumoheofo, a daughter of Tupoulahi, a very ambitious and strongwilled woman, decided to make herself Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1793.[9] 175 643

This action was unprecedented, for although women were superior to men in rank, no woman had ever before become head of any of the major socio-political units in the country, let alone succeeded to any of the three principal positions. Her extraordinary action could be explained by her unwillingness to see the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu go to her uncle, Mumui, and his descendants, for Mumui had a different mother from that of Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki, a woman of lower rank. For this reason Tupoumoheofo resented Mumui or his sons taking precedence, and while she had not objected to the succession of Maealiuaki or his son, Mulikiha'amea, to the Tu'i Kanokupolu position, she was prepared to take this drastic step. [562]

One of Mumui's sons, Tuku'aho, was infuriated by her action. He came from 'Eua where he was living, drove Tupoumoheofo to Vava'u and deposed her. He made Mumui, his aged father, Tu'i Kanokupolu, while he himself retained the real power. Describing Tuku'aho, Captain Wilson of the *Duff* wrote (1799: 103):

> He is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age; is of a sullen, morose countenance; speaks very little, but when angry, bellows forth with a voice like the roaring of a lion.

In his youth he had led other young Tongan chiefs and they had indulged themselves in a warring expedition to Fiji, returning with exciting tales of their victories. [484] [177]

Gradually Tuku'aho tried to exert his power throughout the whole of Tonga, and when he eventually succeeded his father as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1797, he ruled with harshness, cruelty and terror. William Mariner, a young ship's clerk adopted by Fīnau 'Ulukālala, said:

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[9] Tupoumoheofo was the principal wife of Pau, the Tu'i Tonga who met Cook in 1777. Pau left Tongatapu to reside in Vava'u because, according to tradition, he was upset by Tupoumoheofo's insistence on conferring all the regalia of the office of Tu'i Tonga on her son and heir, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, while he was still alive (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). Pau died in Vava'u in 1784.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

> Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the throne; . . . He is reported to have been a man of vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking every opportunity to exert his authority; and frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wanton; as an instance of which, he on one occasion gave orders, (which were instantly obeyed), that twelve of his cooks, who were always in waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava, should undergo the amputation of their left arms, merely to distinguish them from other men, and for the vanity of rendering himself singular by this extraordinary exercise of his authority. (Martin 1827, I:80) 175 643

The tyrannical and cruel reign of Tuku'aho gave the young politically ambitious Fīnau 'Ulukālala Fangupō, who in 1797 had succeeded his father, Fīnau 'Ulukālala I, as Fīnau 'Ulukālala II, an excuse for furthering his own ambitions. For some time, Tupoumoheofo, who was living in Vava'u, had been planning her revenge upon Tuku'aho, and she cleverly stirred up ill-feeling in the minds of the 'Ulukālala family, under whose protection she was living. These efforts were greatly assisted by Tuku'aho's own growing unpopularity. 175 643 634 669

Tupouniua, another son of Fīnau 'Ulukālala I, suggested that Tuku'aho should be assassinated. His half-brother, Fīnau 'Ulukālala II, hesitated for a while because Tuku'aho was the father of one of his other half-brothers (by the same mother), Tupoute'a. However, most of the other great chiefs, including the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tamahā of Tongatapu were in favour of the assassination (Orange 1840:165). Finally Fīnau 'Ulukālala II gave his consent, and during the annual ceremony of *'inasi* at Mu'a, in 1799, Tuku'aho was murdered at night by Tupouniua while 'Ulukālala and his men stood guard outside. Almost all who were with Tuku'aho that night were slain. The murder of Tuku'aho threw Tonga into a long and bloody civil war, fought with unprecedented ferocity and treachery.

Until his death in 1809 Fīnau 'Ulukālala II proved to be the most powerful, treacherous and dangerous man in the country. He faced opposition first from the loyal supporters of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Mulikiha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, allied himself and his people with Fīnau 'Ulukālala. He had hoped to become once again Tu'i Kanokupolu, but he was killed during one of the

643 battles.[10] His death marked the end of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
634 line.[11]

In May 1799 'Ulukālala and his army attacked Hihifo. An eye-
669 witness account by Vason, a renegade L.M.S. missionary living
175 under Mulikiha'amea, reported that it was a tough and bloody
battle in which the Hihifo army was forced to retreat, leaving
175 many of their warriors behind, dead. Some took refuge at a
634 sacred burial place in Pangai, believing that its sanctity would
protect them from violence. Fīnau 'Ulukālala then appealed to
669 Vason to set fire to the sanctuary and he complied, throwing a
726 fire brand into the thatch of a house in the enclosure, which
ignited and quickly spread. Many of those sheltering inside were
burnt to death or killed by Fīnau 'Ulukālala's men as they tried to
[727 escape. 'Ulukālala's men dragged the bodies to the beach 'and
after inflicting every brutal insult of savage cruelty, roasted and
266] ate them—thinking it was just revenge on their enemies to devour
them' (Orange 1840:175).

After he had defeated his opponents in Tongatapu in 1799,
175 and as a gesture of contempt and ridicule for the defeated party,
634 he and his half-brother, Tupouniua, set up a white pig in Hahake,
669 as Tu'i Kanokupolu, and one of his chiefs, Veahahake, as the
pig's representative (Blanc 1934:28) before proceeding to Ha'apai
[643] and Vava'u. In Ha'apai he crushed his opponents with utter
ruthlessness and made himself ruler of Ha'apai. Describing what
175 happened to his opponents in Ha'apai, Mariner recalled:

634
669 Some were sent on board old and useless canoes, which were then
scuttled and immediately sunk; others were taken three or four leagues
727 out to sea, and being put in old leaky ones, and tied hand and foot,
were left gradually to meet their fate. Those against whom Finow
entertained the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island of Lofanga,

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[10] Vason, who lived with Mulikiha'amea, revealed that an arrangement had previously been made, that upon Tuku'aho's death, Mulikiha'amea would become Tu'i Kanokupolu (Orange 1840:163).

[727] [11] The L.M.S. missionaries gave a vivid description of the horrors of this war. They recorded how they saw a warrior being killed and, 'a fellow who had severed his head and body asunder was exhibiting them as a proof of his prowess; and even some of the women, as they passed him dipped their hands in his blood, and licked them' (*Missionary Transactions*, 10 May 1799:288).

> and there tied naked to stakes driven in the ground, or to the trunks 175
> of trees and left to starve to death . . . Several of them bore their
> torments with the greatest fortitude, lingering till the eighth day, while 634
> others of weaker constitutions died in three or four days. (Martin 669
> 1827, I:85-6)

727
From Ha'apai, 'Ulukālala and his warriors proceeded to Vava'u
where after two weeks of sporadic fighting, the resistance collapsed 175
and the Tu'i Vava'u, Vuna III or Vuna Takitakimālohi, and his 634
chiefs, including one of Fīnau 'Ulukālala's own sons, Moengāngongo,
who had sided with him, fled to Samoa. Fīnau 'Ulukālala 669
II had now become the ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u and from this time on the 'Ulukālala family assumed the title of Tu'i Vava'u. He made Tupouniua governor of Vava'u and Tupouto'a governor of Ha'apai. He then decided to move his residence to Ha'apai where he made preparation for further attacks on Tongatapu.

Meanwhile, in Tongatapu, the royalists determined to avenge
what 'Ulukālala and his followers had done at Hihifo. In 1800 634
Vaha'i, one of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a chiefs, and the strongest
chief on Tongatapu at the time, led the men of Hihifo in a war 669
which is known as the Tau Fakalelemoa (battle of chasing fowls) 726
or Tau Langovaka (battle avenging defeat) (Collocott 1928:91). They marched from the west to the east of Tongatapu, defeating those who had supported Fīnau 'Ulukālala in 1799 everywhere they went. Vahe Loto, the centre of Tongatapu, was laid waste so that if ever Fīnau came back he would not be able to obtain provisions there. Houses were burnt down, and their inhabitants were driven into the sea to drown, or be slaughtered like chickens.
At Poha, a mount between Hoi and Kolonga at Hahake, the 634
royalists made a great heap of the bodies of their enemies, 'by
being laid transversely upon each other, as a monumental trophy 669
of the victory' (Orange 1840:186). They made it high enough for 727
them to be able to look at the island of 'Eua from the top of it. Then they built a fire round a huge stone, called Pitoi Tangata (human cooking stone). When it was red hot, they cut the human bodies open, roasted them on it and ate them in revenge.

Some of 'Ulukālala's men went to Tongatapu with Vason for supplies, and arrived just in time to witness the horror of the destruction and massacre of their former allies. They had to flee

2 *Confrontation and Frustration*

The first attempt to convert the Tongans to Christianity was 797
made by the London Missionary Society, a Protestant interdenominational body. The reports of the explorers, particularly 175
those of Captain James Cook, together with accounts of atrocities committed by some unruly Europeans among the Pacific islanders, were widely read in England towards the end of the eighteenth century. In order to save the South Sea islanders from both heathenism and the lawlessness of certain Europeans, many people in England, particularly the evangelicals, believed that the best way was to Christianise and civilise them (Morrell 1960:28-31). For this purpose the missionary ship, *Duff*, under Captain James Wilson, was sent to the Pacific in 1796 by the L.M.S. with missionaries for Tahiti, Tonga and the Marquesas.

Captain Wilson landed ten missionaries in Tongatapu on 12 April 1797 (Wilson 1799:105-6). They were under the protection of Tuku'aho, the most powerful chief in Tonga at the time, [643]
and his aged father, Mumui, who was then the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This well-meaning effort was doomed to fail right from the beginning, for the missionaries were ill-equipped for this tremendous task, and the Tongans themselves were not ready for the new religion.[1]

Initially cordial relationships were maintained between the missionaries and the leading Tongan chiefs, but the problem of communication proved a formidable barrier between the two parties. For months the missionaries were unable to communicate with the people about Christianity, let alone conduct any religious services for the people because of their ignorance of the language. Most of their time was spent in trying to establish a garden and

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[1] There was no ordained minister among these missionaries. They were all artisans. For the names of the missionaries and their occupations before they left England, see Farmer 1855:78.

797 learn the language, and worrying about the safety of their diminishing trade goods.

175 It was soon apparent that the Tongan chiefs were only interested
in the missionaries' trade goods and not their teachings. The early
797 good relationship was due mainly to the missionaries' ability to
175 satisfy the chiefs' demands for European goods. When the chiefs,
at the instigation of three beachcombers, Ambler, Morgan and
177 Connelly, demanded the expulsion of the missionaries from Tonga,
Mulikiha'amea, the then Tu'i Ha'atakalaua replied:

> If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them out from among us; but they have brought great riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish for more? (Orange 1840:117)

797 However, as their supplies began to decrease, and the missionaries
175 became less generous with their gifts, thefts occurred. One of the
missionaries, Vason, was attacked one night and had his pistol
685 stolen.

Added to the missionaries' problem were the hostile reactions
797 of the beachcombers to their presence in Tonga. After the missionaries
175 refused their unreasonable demands for trade goods, the
three beachcombers told the Tongans that they themselves were
563 men of high rank in England, but the missionaries were only
commoners, and that in their prayer meetings they were praying
[165] to their gods to kill off the Tongan chiefs. Unfortunately for the
missionaries, four leading chiefs died within three months of their
arrival (Wilson 1799:257), and the Tongans took this as proof
175 of the truth of the beachcombers' allegations. During the civil war
797 in 1799, three of the missionaries were killed,[2] and the rest had to

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669 [2] Vason explained these murders as the result of one of the Hihifo men's vengeance upon the missionaries from whom he had earlier requested some presents, but had been refused. Seeing the missionaries, he decided to revenge himself and was supported by his friends. Another possible explanation for the attack is that the missionaries were murdered because they were staying with the chief of Ha'ateiho, who with his people had joined Mulikiha'amea and 'Ulukālala, and was regarded as an enemy.

leave Tonga for New South Wales in 1800 after being stripped of 175 their possessions, except Vason who 'went native'.[3]

Interest in missionary work in Tonga, however, did not disappear 797 completely with its abandonment by the L.M.S. missionaries. [669] One of those who escaped to New South Wales, Shelley, retained a lively interest in the people of the group. Several times 797 he pleaded unsuccessfully with various mission bodies to reopen the mission work in Tonga. However, after his death his widow excited the interest of a young Methodist minister in Sydney, the Reverend Walter Lawry, with the tragic stories her late husband had told her about their few years in Tonga (Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:267). Eventually Lawry managed to persuade the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference (at this time the Methodist people in New South Wales were still under the British Methodist Conference) to appoint him with another minister to the mission field in Tonga.

Among the circumstances favouring his proposal was the news of the success of the L.M.S. in Tahiti, which had reached England and caused tremendous excitement among the evangelicals there, at the same time creating sympathy and sorrow for the forsaken people of the Friendly Islands. It was not difficult therefore to persuade the British Wesleyan Conference to send missionaries to Tonga, and Lawry was the first appointed.

Lawry decided to leave for Tonga without delay. Accompanied by his wife, their child, a carpenter, George Lilley, a blacksmith, Charles Tindall, and a young man from the Marquesas, Macanoe, to act as interpreter. Lawry arrived in Tonga on 16 August 1822 (Lawry, Diary, 16 Aug. 1822). He decided to reside at Mu'a, the then capital of Tonga, under the chief Fatu, son of the last Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mulikiha'amea. It was soon obvious, however, that [177] their favourable reception was due more to his supply of goods than his teachings. Eventually, the opposition of the traditional priests and the people was so strong, and the constant threats to kill the missionary so affected Mrs Lawry's health, that Lawry

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[3] Vason deserted missionary work and lived among the Tongans for four years. The fascinating story of his experiences in Tonga is told in Orange 1840.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century the discovery of rich new whaling grounds in 439 the western and central Pacific brought many whalers to the area. Tonga received its share of these visits and the whalers engaged in trade, exchanging beads, cloth, iron tools and muskets for fresh provisions of fruit, vegetables, pork, coconut oil and other native produce. The missionaries felt rather uneasy about the 439 presence of the whalers. Nathaniel Turner wrote: 797

> Tonga is now becoming a place of resort for shipping, especially whalers, and we may expect it will be much more so. This may in some respect be attended with advantages; but we have already cause to fear it will materially militate against our cause. (Turner to Committee, 24 April 1830, WMMS 1818-36, item A2836)

Later it became increasingly clear that the uneasiness of the 439 missionaries mainly rested upon their fears that the whalers called at the islands not merely in search of provisions, but also to win 836 the favours of the Tongan women. Yet in this respect the teachings of the missionaries had been readily accepted. Peter Turner reported that the captain and the supercargo of a vessel which left Tonga three days previously had done 'all they could to induce some of the females to go on board but all their efforts were futile' (P. Turner, Journal, 28 April 1832).

The whalers, for their part, felt antipathy towards the missionaries on account of this and tried to seize every opportunity 439 to discredit them and undermine their work. They gained sufficient influence to delay the conversion of some of the remote 797 islands of the group (Amos to Committee, 11 Sept. 1857, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170).

The attention of traders to Tonga was first aroused by Captain 175 Cook's praise for the Tongans for their keen interest in trade. He claimed that 'Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more 439 honesty and less distrust' (Cook and King 1784:384). Many years later, Peter Dillon (1829, I:277) added to this view when 439 he wrote:

> I may safely say that Tonga is the best island in the South Seas for ships to recruit their supplies at, provisions there are in such plenty.

fertile loamy to clayey soil, termed *kelefatu* by Tongans, which 134
covers most of Tongatapu and Vava'u and much of Ha'apai.
The other significant type, *tou'one,* is a sandy and less fertile 134
soil found at low elevations near the sea, particularly in Ha'apai
where it influences the pattern of land division. On Ha'afeva 423
(see Figure 1),A for example, most landholders have their holding 182
in two separate roughly two-acre sections, one of *kelefatu* and
one of *tou'one.* Elsewhere in the raised limestone islands local
variations in land quality are not sufficient to affect land tenure.

TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE 423

The evidence so far available on the pre-contact landholding 175
system in Tonga is inadequate and sometimes conflicting, and
much research remains to be done. The basic unit of society was 175
the household or *'api,* which generally consisted of a married 592
couple, their unmarried children, any married sons with their
families, and perhaps one or more other relatives. Descent was 175
usually, but not exclusively, patrilineal, and a number of house- 613
holds whose members considered themselves to be related by
descent through males from a common ancestor formed a lineage
or *fa'ahinga.*[2] The *fa'ahinga* was headed by an *'ulumotu'a,* who [565]
usually held an hereditary title as *matapule, foha* or *tehina*[3] to
the chief. Since membership of the *fa'ahinga* was generally [591]
reckoned through the father, and since residence on marriage
was usually with the parents of the husband, members of the
fa'ahinga lived mostly in one area.

Several *fa'ahinga* together formed the group subject to the 175
authority and control of a chief. One of these *fa'ahinga* was the 613
lineage of the chief himself. Some or all of the others were be-
lieved to be related to him by descent from a common ancestor, 565
but some were founded by outsiders who attached themselves to
a chief, often as *matapule* (Gifford 1929:140-1). A group of re-
lated titled chiefs formed a *ha'a* and claimed to be connected by
descent from a common ancestor. The *ha'a* was partly a kinship
group in that its chiefs considered themselves to be related to
each other and to most of the people under them, but it also
had the character of "a political association of people around
a lineage core' (Nayacakalou 1959:95). On Tongatapu the *ha'a* [631]
formed rough but not completely exclusive territorial units.

The broad features of this social structure were reflected in 175
the land tenure system, but interpretations of the available 423
evidence differ in some significant aspects. Some writers suggest 631

A[See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

175 that the Tu'i Tonga was the nominal and the chiefs the actual
423 owners of the land, and the commoners simply tenants at will
(see Gifford 1929:174-5; Nayacakalou 1959:94-7 and Beaglehole
631 1941:19), but such terms as 'owner' and 'tenant' must be suspect
when applied to a Polynesian culture. Other evidence suggests
175 a pattern resembling that of neighbouring territories, where land
423 rights were held by social groups but were vested nominally in
the titled head of that group. Gifford, for instance, notes that
631 land once granted, whether to chiefs, *matapule* or commoners,
613 remained indefinitely in the family of the grantee (see also
Martin 1818: vol. II:91); Waldegrave and Radcliffe Brown re-
[425] cord that the Tu'i Tonga could not dispossess a chief (Walde-
grave 1833:185 and Williamson 1924: vol. III:266); and the
evidence of contemporary informants suggests that it would have
been unusual for a *fa'ahinga* to have lost its land except through
warfare (see also Williamson 1924: vol. III:231). It was also noted
[565] earlier that the *fa'ahinga* and the group headed by a chief were
basically descent groups and occupied fairly distinct areas, and
[425] several recent but knowledgeable informants maintain that in old
Tonga a chief allocated land to the various *'ulumotu'a* under
him, for their people to cultivate and live on, and that a man
obtained the use of land through his *fa'ahinga* and not as a
direct grant from his chief as is the case in the present system.
423 An example of this pattern can be seen in Figure 1. The first
map of Niutoua, in eastern Tongatapu, shows the pattern of
613 land division around 1910, and the landholders at that time can
be grouped into three *fa'ahinga*, each occupying a particular part
[565] of the land.[4] One *fa'ahinga* was headed by the former chief of
the area and the others by his two *matapule*.

Most of the evidence on landholding within the *fa'ahinga*
423 suggests that in times of peace people lived in extended family
613 groups scattered over the land (for example, Orlebar 1833:49),
and almost all contemporary informants state that allotments
596 were held by the heads of these families, with married sons
working the lands of their fathers and not holding allotments of
423 their own as at present. Individual tenure, in my opinion, is
therefore a recent development.

178 The above evidence suggests that the various social groups
423 had definite land rights, yet there is little doubt that these rights
could be overruled by the chiefs, and that a chief could allocate
565 land even against the wishes of its hereditary occupiers. He was
613 expected to take the interests of his people into consideration,
however, and to act in consultation with the *'ulumotu'a* under
[425]

NOTES

[1] The writer acknowledges with gratitude the help received from many 000
people in Tonga and elsewhere while collecting the material for this
chapter. Particular acknowledgement is made to the staff of the Lands
and Survey Department, the Honourable Mahe Tupouniua, Mr 'Iteni Helu,
Dr Sione Latukefu, Mr Tangata Lakepa and Professor R. G. Crocombe,
who do not, of course, share any responsibility for the opinions expressed
here.

[2] The correct term for this group in pre-contact Tonga is uncertain and 175
today Tongans use the word *famili*, from English, or *matakali*, which is 613
of Fijian origin. The term *fa'ahinga* is used by Latukefu (1967).

[3] The *matapule* are the chief's attendants and spokesmen; *foha* and *tehina* [565]
are minor titles under a chief.

[4] The crosses mark allotments held by persons not belonging to the same 423
fa'ahinga as the rest of the landholders in that area. [613]

[5] On a government estate the process of obtaining land has generally been
less difficult, but in recent years most of these estates, especially in Tonga- [425]
tapu, have had few vacant allotments.

[6] These figures are from the preliminary results of the 1966 census, by 113
courtesy of the Census Commissioner, Mr N. Fiefia.

[7] It may be noted here that there are several references to the planting of 423
coconuts having stopped in the first decade of this century (because mal- 182
administration of land matters by the King and the estate-holders made 178
people feel insecure in their tenure), which suggests that previously plant- 245
ing had been common. On the other hand, the registration of allotments
does not appear to have begun until 1898, and registration on a significant
scale did not begin until about 1915.

[8] But note that by law an estate-holder may reserve part of his estate for 423
himself and the successors to his title and, since the regulation provided 182
for in the Land Act to determine the area of this *'api fakatofi'a* has never 427
been made, some retain personal holdings of up to 200 or 300 acres,
although part of this land is being used by villagers and others. 565

[9] From the preliminary results of the 1966 census. 000

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276 separateness of the three principles and at the same time shows
574 how they co-exist.

554 We have no historical information on how this particular
565 form of differentiated social principles developed. It was in full
● 175 flower at the time of Captain Cook's visits. He confessed him-
565 554 self bewildered by the system, though he gives a clear description of behaviour from which the operation of the three principles of authority, power, and rank can be inferred.

554 Although the historical development of the system remains
565 obscure, some of its effects can be observed in operation. It
571 preserves social continuity while at the same time providing opportunities for flexibility and individual initiative. For individuals it provides a ready-made defence and a mode of adaptation to a general problem that Freud outlined long ago in *Totem and Taboo*: how are subordinates to reconcile themselves to the fact that they hate and envy the authority ('father') whom they also need and love. In the Tongan system 'authority' is split up and dispersed so that no one, not even the King, can be on top all the time. However great a man may be in one dimension, someone else will be greater in some other dimension or some other context. What you lose on the swings you gain on the roundabouts. Further, the system is such that it is difficult, even today, to mobilize consistently opposed groups of 'haves' and 'have-nots'. But it would be a mistake to regard the splitting of authority, rank, and power as a 'solution' to the problem of ambivalent feelings towards authority, for it seems very likely that each of the three systems generates its own complex of envy and rivalry. The system may generate more hatred than it disperses.

571 There are many indications in everyday life that Tongans are very sensitive about problems of authority and conflict. People avoid open expression of disagreement, while at the same time seeing to it that the authorities concerned find out indirectly about the issues involved. For example, people will agree to fulfil what they consider to be unreasonable demands by a person in authority or a person of high rank, but they will

then fail to carry out the desired activity. If confronted by their lack of conformity, they disappear, or find a reasonable excuse or say they did not understand what was required of them. 'They have been leading us around for generations' as one eminent noble put it. 571

Possibly one factor in this general sensitivity to conflict and avoidance of open expression of it is that Tonga is an island, or rather a group of islands in close communication with one another. In a comparatively isolated group of islands more of an effort has to be made to contain and resolve internal conflicts than on a large land mass where dissidents and persecuted groups can move away without actually leaving the society. And if the controls break down and violence actually breaks out on an island, as it did in Tonga in the early nineteenth century, the island is in for a blood bath that few can escape. [175]

The second major point about the kava ceremony is that *it is a conserving and conservative institution.* This aspect of the ceremony is less explicit than the emphasis on titles. It is unformulated though certainly not unconscious. 276 574 571 554

The seating and serving order of the kava ceremony are a partial substitute for a written history, for the seating of each title, especially in the royal kava ceremony, is supposed to be explainable in terms of actual historical events. I was so intrigued by this aspect of the ceremony that I spent many months asking titleholders why they sat where they did in the royal kava ceremony. My husband and I were frustrated and puzzled to find that many titleholders did not know why they sat where they did. Eventually it dawned on us that this in itself was the significant point. Forgetting is selective. The seating of titles that are still politically important is known and understood. The reasons for the seating are forgotten if the titles are politically unimportant today.

Personal rank and political power can change very quickly in Tonga; it takes a long time for the titles and the kava ceremony to catch up. Two or three generations of 'bad' marriages can drastically reduce the personal rank of the man who holds

276 a title, but the title itself and its position in the kava ceremony
574 are hardly affected. Once a drop in personal rank is combined
571 with a drop in the political power and influence of the title-
554 holder, however, the rank of the title and its position in the kava ceremony gradually begin to decline as well. People start to forget the reasons for the seating of the title. Its position in the circle may be changed to accommodate a more important title. Eventually unimportant titles cease to be appointed and even their ceremonial place is forgotten.

Occasionally there is a massive reshuffle of seating arrange-
175 ments to take account of changes in political power. This hap-
643 pened after the death of the last sacred king in 1865. While the
554 sacred kingship was still in existence, the kava circle of the
276 secular king, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, included only those titles
574 that were derived from the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and were
565
571 genealogically junior to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title. But when the sacred kingship lapsed in 1865 and the Tu'i Kanokupolu became the sole king, the titles derived from the Tu'i Tonga line had to be fitted into the Tu'i Kanokupolu's kava circle, even though many of these titles were genealogically senior to the title of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This conflict between actual political power and the genealogical seniority of titles was surmounted by a sort of legal fiction. Before he died the last Tu'i Tonga transferred his sacred prerogatives to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There is some doubt, however, about how he disposed of his kava prerogatives. Some say that he handed these over to the 'King of the Second House', a very ancient title that stands in the relation of 'brother' to the Tu'i Tonga title. The difficulty was solved by a marriage between the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and the 'King of the Second House' line, the end result being that the 'King of the Second House' title is now held by the Royal Family, and the present incumbent is the King's younger brother.

276 Thus the kava ceremony changes to take account of changes
574 in the power of titles, but it changes more slowly than the
554 rank and power of individuals, and the changes are phrased
571

433 village- and town-dwelling small-holding farmers of a variety of root crops for
241 subsistence and of copra and bananas for cash.[3]

643 The pre-contact Tongan political and social system was a highly stratified
565 kingship, which was an extreme case of the hierarchical social organization for
175 which Polynesia has been culturally typed (see Gifford, 1929; Goldman, 1970;
171 Sahlins, 1958). The pre-contact sacred kingship of the Tu'i Tonga had been
177 increasingly challenged by the political competition among ruling chiefs for
797 over two centuries, when Wesleyan missionaries, arriving in 1826, began a
process of thorough westernization of indigenous institutions. Enthusiastically
643 accepting Christianity and the advantages of western ideas of law, government,
178 and education, the powerful chiefly leader, Tāufa'āhau,[4] as the Christian king
George Tupou I, united the islands under a constitutional monarchy and a
178 strong Wesleyan church organization. Although later a British protectorate
177 (1900-1970), Tonga was the only polity in Polynesia to maintain indigenous
642 sovereignty and remains the only surviving Polynesian kingship.[5]

[648] The institutional and legal framework for the new order has remained
[170] virtually intact during the reigns of the four monarchs of the Tupou dynasty
(Tupou I, 1875-1893; Tupou II, 1893-1918; Queen Sālote, 1918-1965; and
Tupou IV, 1965-). The major pre-contact social and political institutions
were replaced by a monarchical state (with the kingship defined as part of the
conventional executive, legislative, and judicial branches of western government)
177 and Christian church organizations. On the other hand, a number of indigenous
customs and values were assimilated to the innovations and persisted, particularly
178 in the important everyday-life contexts of kin relations and of the production
and exchange of traditional foodstuffs and goods such as barkcloth and mats.
This early, stable complex of institutions, ideas, and practices, which integrated
Tongan culture with a version of European culture, remained isolated during
the early twentieth century as a neo-traditional or compromise culture and is
only now being challenged by increasing political and economic contacts with
other regional and world nations.

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[3] The following are major sources on recent Tongan demography and economics: Bollard (1974), deBres (1974), Maude (1965, 1971), Sevele (1973), and Walsh (1964). The following are sources on modern Tongan society and culture: Aoyagi (1966); Beaglehole (1941), Kaeppler (1971), Korn (1974) Marcus (1975a, 1975b), Morton (1972), and Rogers (1968, 1975).

[175] [4] There were actually three kingships in Tonga in the century before the Constitution. In the 15th century, the 24th incumbent Tu'i Tonga conferred supreme secular power on his younger brother, while retaining for himself the highest sacred status, thus initiating a collateral line of kings called the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, repeating the earlier split in authority, conferred considerable authority on one of his sons, thus creating a second line of major societal chiefs or kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, collateral to the sacred Tu'i Tonga kingship. Tāufa'āhau was the 19th Tu'i Kanokupolu.

[5] Major secondary sources on Tonga's transformation and recent history are Lātūkefu (1974); Rutherford (1971), and Wood (1932, 1975).

423 and modified the directions of change in patterns of land-holding and
[178 consequently in social structure. As such, the land at the very least has
[554 served as the ideological basis of male social status and respectability in the
[641] new order and as the social foundation for the broader definition of individual
rights in the Tongan Constitution.

565 Impressions of Europeans concerning contemporary Tongan society inevitably
focus on the noble-commoner division as defining the major lines
565 of class in the monarchy. Undoubtedly, the decision to preserve a limited
number of major traditional chiefs in the form of western-styled noble landlords
177 in the nineteenth century was partially motivated by a need to conform to
648 European views of what the basis of a modern constitutional monarchy should
be, since it appears that the independence of Tonga at the time was dependent
on a self-transformation which courted Western views of 'civilized' institutions.
565 However, Tongans themselves have never entirely accustomed themselves to
the view that the *kau nopele* ('the noble title-holders') alone encompass the
hou'eiki (broadly, chiefs and aristocrats) of modern Tonga. The modern
nobility is not isomorphic with the blood aristocrats of Tonga. In fact, several
of the nobles, although formally recognized or equated as *hou'eiki* by law,
are not considered aristocrats by Tongans in general or by the residents of the
estates of these nobles in particular. The use of the concept *'eiki*, the
traditional 'cover' term denoting chiefly status, has been widely expanded in
modern Tonga to apply to a great number of contexts beyond its traditional
meanings (for example, ministerial posts, some held by commoners, are
referred to as *'eiki minisitā*).

[114] Elizabeth Spillius, in her excellent intensive work at the court of the
late Queen Sālote (1960), defined the traditional principles of Tongan *'eiki*
565 classification. In pre-contact times, the concept of *sino'i 'eiki* (literally, 'chiefly
body') meant broadly 'aristocrat by blood' and had both loose and restricted
175 meanings. The *'eiki* were strictly the Tu'i Tonga and his major wife and
643 children, while loosely the term applied to all people who could trace a fairly
close blood connection with the Tu'i Tonga. Furthermore, aside from this
565 loose and restricted meaning of *'eiki*, which definitely classed certain individuals
175 at the apex of society as either *'eiki* or not, the term had completely contextual
554 application where a man might be called *'eiki* in his own village, but when
he was in the presence of outsiders of higher rank he might be referred to
by a demeaning term such as *motu'a* ('old one'). The English word chief
565 connotes authority over territory and a group of subjects, but there is no
175 exact Tongan linguistic equivalent. There were chiefs without title and without
'eiki blood, and they would be referred to, depending on occasion, as *tauhi
fonua* ('keepers of the land') or *ivilahi* ('men of personal skill and power').
Some chiefs held titles and some not, some were blood *'eiki* (*sino'i 'eiki*) and
565 some not. With the establishment of the nobility, *'eiki* status in a legal or
641

565 are aristocrats by the modern application of the old principle that true chiefs
178 are close blood kinsmen (*sino'i 'eiki*) of the King (previously the Tu'i Tonga,
[643] but now the Tupou Kings). Secondly, title-holders who are not closely related
to the King or to one of the aristocratic nobles are the gentry nobility that was
[558] mentioned. In the current situation, the gentry nobles are left to their own
fortunes, which means that without *sino'i 'eiki* blood connections established
through marriage or high government position, controlled from the centre, they
565 decline in respectability and image among the people. Finally, certain key
titles of old Tonga, which were associated with regional, independent chiefs of
178 considerable power, have become vacant and may be resurrected by the monarch
643 according to his wishes. It is generally believed that younger male children
of the King may be appointed to the more prestigious of these vacant titles.[7]

Before the Tupou era, *'eiki* honour was closely guarded, promoted, and at
565 least partially defined by the major chiefly kin groups themselves, much as kin
178 groups at various levels control the appointment and manipulate the status of
[171] chiefly titles in modern Samoa. With the implementation of the noble title
system, *'eiki* honour became a monopoly and a prerogative (in the control of
title and estate location) of the centre in the process of consolidating the surviving
chiefly system. In contemporary Tonga, the process of refining the century-long
consolidation begun by Tupou I continues.

Succession to Hereditary Titles and Estates

565 In pre-Constitutional Tonga, succession to positions of authority and titled
175 office was patrilineally determined, based on seniority in lineality and age,
and applied to all units of social organization from the domestic group headed
611 by the *tamai* ('father'), to the local descent group headed by the *'ulu motu'a*
428 ('elder head'), to the Kingship itself. It is worth emphasizing that patrilineality
[178] was a predominant trend, specifically in succession to positions of authority
throughout the traditional polity, but it in no way had the force of law that
it now has. In the traditional order, direct patrilineal succession was always
contingent upon variations in personality, ability, and relative conditions of
power and authority among related kin groups.

Eldest brother-younger brother succession was frequent, and some say, a preferred path of traditional succession to chiefly position. Younger brother

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[7] Of the 33 noble titles, five are currently vacant and two are held jointly by a single holder, making a current total of 27 noble title-holders. Of these, three titles are held within the Royal Family. Of the remaining 24 title-holders, I estimate that five are clearly of *sino'i 'eiki* or aristocratic status, marked by their close kinship with the dynastic line, in turn developed through intermarriages of their respective lines during two or more past generations with the dynastic line. These aristocratic nobles hold important government positions. The remaining 19 noble title-holders are gentry, some recognized kinsmen of the aristocrats and the King, some totally without such relationships. The six *matāpule* estate-holders might be classed with the gentry nobility. One *matāpule* title is held jointly by a gentry noble title-holder, and one *matāpule* title-holder holds high government office.

succession can be and usually is explained by a contextual factor such as the 565
lack of ability, the physical absence, the immaturity, or simply the dislike 175
among suporting chiefs of the appropriate, eldest-son heir. However, some 611
informants explained that chiefly authority should pass between brothers because 428
of *totò mafana* ('warm blood'): the younger brother shares identical chiefly
status as the deceased chief because they had the same mother, but the chief's [554]
eldest son has a different chiefly status, whether higher or lower, than his
father, because he had a different mother than the latter.[8] Thus, the chiefly
position should properly pass through the surviving brothers until they are
exhausted before it eventually returns to the senior male line. However valid 565
or accurate this current indigenous explanation of former succession beliefs 178
may be, the issue of priority between horizontal succession through brothers 611
and vertical succession through sons has survived as a continuing structural 428
tension, despite strict, legal definition of succession.

The Tu'i Tonga formally installed the major chiefly titles of the old order, 175
and the holders of the latter in turn installed titles subordinate to themselves. 565
Formal installation of subordinate titles occurred in the context of a kava 643
ceremony, headed by the appointing chief. An appointee would be served
kava under his new title after which he would present a large tribute of food, 175
called *pongipongi hingoa* ('presentation in honor of entitlement') to the 565
appointing chief. With the serving of kava and the presentation of food, the 276
new title-holder was considered formally and permanently installed in his title. 431
Conversely, at the installation of a king, the appointee would sit at the head
of his own kava ceremony and be presented with food tribute by his supporting [643]
chiefs. Although succession to noble titles is now legally defined, the monarch [178]
continues to install the nobility in the customary manner.

The law of succession to hereditary titles and lands is included both as 641
a clause in the Constitution (Clause 111) and in more detailed statutes of the
Land Act (Chapter 63, Clauses 37-42, *Law of Tonga*, 1967). Although there 428
are separate sets of clauses referring to the devolution of hereditary estates and 423
tax allotments in the Land Act, both sets are similar in content and formulation. 565
This similarity suggests an identity between special landholding in the form of 671

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[8] Although chiefly position, either as title or leadership, typically passed patrilineally in the traditional order, an individual's chiefly rank was a composite weighting of his father's chiefly rank with his mother's. In this weighting, the status or rank of one's mother carried more prestige, connoting that one had personally the chiefly blood of one's mother (and her chiefly group of origin), but possessed the chiefly position of one's father. I could obtain no clear indigenous explanations for this distinctive weighting or association of the chiefly child with its mother. Nonetheless, the ideal is for the child to be well-balanced, i.e., for both of its parents to be of chiefly status. A male child with only one chiefly parent (in most situations, a chiefly father and a commoner mother) is still considered chiefly, but is sometimes ridiculed as *ngesi taha* ('half-shelled'). Even though formal legal definition of patrilineal succession to noble titles to some extent has subdued the importance of the rank of the mother in influencing the rank of the child, several modern nobles are 'half-shelled' and as such, are generally viewed as ordinary or common persons, but for their possession of titles.

THE VOLCANIC ISLANDS
(INCLUDING FALCON ISLAND AND NIUA FO'OU).

175 (1) 'ATA. Tasman sighted this island in 1643 as he sailed from
103 New Zealand, and he gave it the name of Pylstaart. It is 85 miles S.S.W.
of Togatabu. There are two peaks, the higher being 1,165 feet, but the
133 volcano is extinct. 'Ata contains deposits of guano, suitable for manure,
135 but the lack of a harbour renders these useless commercially. The island
was formerly inhabited. One account stated that people drifted there
174 from Tofua, Tugua and also from Houma in Togatabu, and relationship
with people in those places has been claimed by descendants of the 'Ata
166 people. Another explanation is that 'Ata was settled by refugees from
Atata who fled from the invasion of a cannibal chief, 'Uhila, of Nomuka,
and that these intended to flee to Togatabu but were blown south in a
storm. Still another account relates that refugees from Atata fled in
this way but it was because of the invasion of their island by Finau Ulukalala
166 II in 1799. Shortly after 1860, Tubou I ordered the 200 inhabitants
of 'Ata to remove to the village of Ha'atu'a or Kolomaile in 'Eua, on
[648] account of islanders being taken away by kidnapping ships to work in
the mines of Chile, South America. 'Ata was too isolated to be protected
then, and on account of its position and lack of an anchorage it has not
again attracted a population.

133 (2) HUGA TOGA is 490 feet high. (3) HUGA HA'ABAI is
400 feet high. These sister-islands, north-west of Togatabu, contain
[135] deposits of guano but have no anchorage. Volcanic activity has long
ceased.

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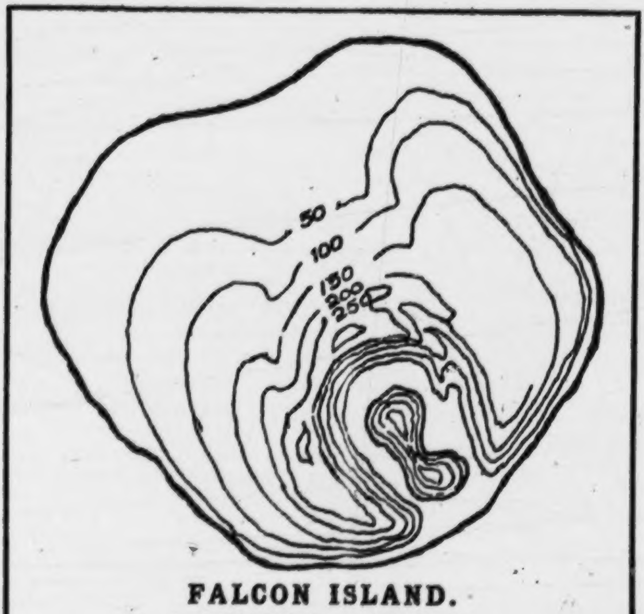

FALCON ISLAND.

LAT. 20° 19' S. LONG. 175° 26' W.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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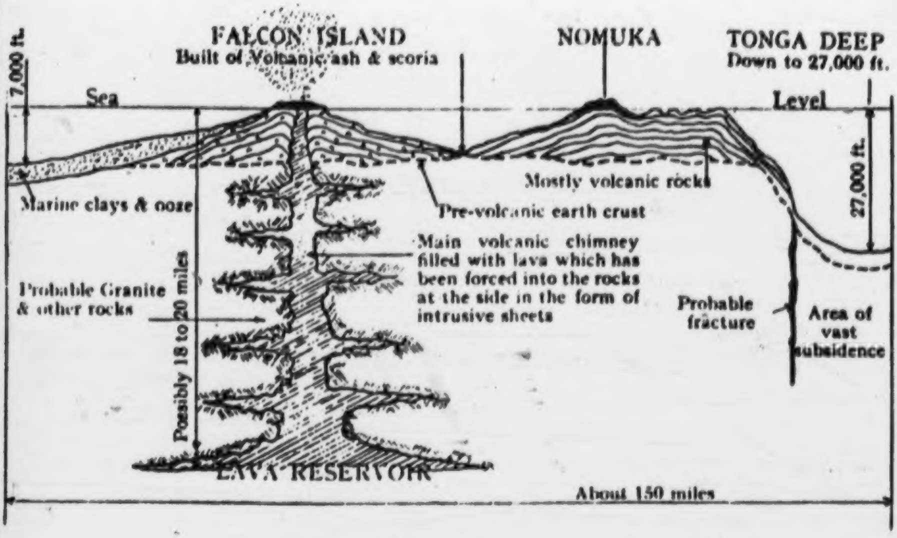

FALCON ISLAND
Built of Volcanic ash & scoria
NOMUKA
TONGA DEEP
Down to 27,000 ft.
7,000 ft.
Sea
Level
Marine clays & ooze
Mostly volcanic rocks
Pre-volcanic earth crust
27,000 ft.
Main volcanic chimney filled with lava which has been forced into the rocks at the side in the form of intrusive sheets
Probable Granite & other rocks
Possibly 18 to 20 miles
Probable fracture
Area of vast subsidence
LAVA RESERVOIR
About 150 miles

FALCON ISLAND.

133

ALTERNATELY AN ISLAND AND A SHOAL
IN THE TONGA OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS GROUP.

Theoretical diagram after T. W. EDGEWORTH DAVID, K.B.E., F.R.S.

(4) FALCON ISLAND (Fonua Fo'ou). This "Jack-in-the-box Island" has erupted and disappeared several times within living memory, leaving only a reef or shoal. The Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781, and the Frenchman, La Perouse, in 1787, marked a reef near this spot. H.M.S. "Falcon" observed the island in 1865, and in 1877 H.M.S. "Sappho" saw smoke there rising from the sea. In 1885 the island appeared again and was claimed by the Tonga Government; but gradually it vanished, and by 1898 only a reef remained. The reason for the disappearances of Falcon Island is that it is formed only of volcanic ash, which is easily washed down by the rain and waves. No growing coral has ever been found there. [175] [136]

The last appearance occurred in October, 1927, when smoke and steam rising several thousand feet could distinctly be seen from Nuku-'alofa, 45 miles away. In May, 1928, the island was visited by scientists and also by the Premier of Tonga, who annexed it for the Government. The island was then roughly circular, about two miles across, and 365 feet high. The crater was near the south-east of the island, nearly a mile [423]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

133 wide, constantly steaming, and surrounded by deposits of sulphur. The prevailing South-East Trade Winds carried the ejected material to the north-west of the island. Water entered the crater-lake from the ocean, as the eastern wall of the crater was very low; the water in the lake was thickly coated with sulphur and had a vile taste. Already in 1928 the waves were breaking down the soft cliffs, and the rain had made deep gullies down the slopes. It is the opinion of scientists that occasional sinkings of the ocean-floor in the Tonga Deep, which sometimes cause earthquakes in New Zealand, at other times cause lava to be pumped up through the opening in Falcon Island, and this accounts for the periodical re-appearance of this island of soft ash and scoria. Since 1928 smoke has been seen at various times, but the island is being washed down again.

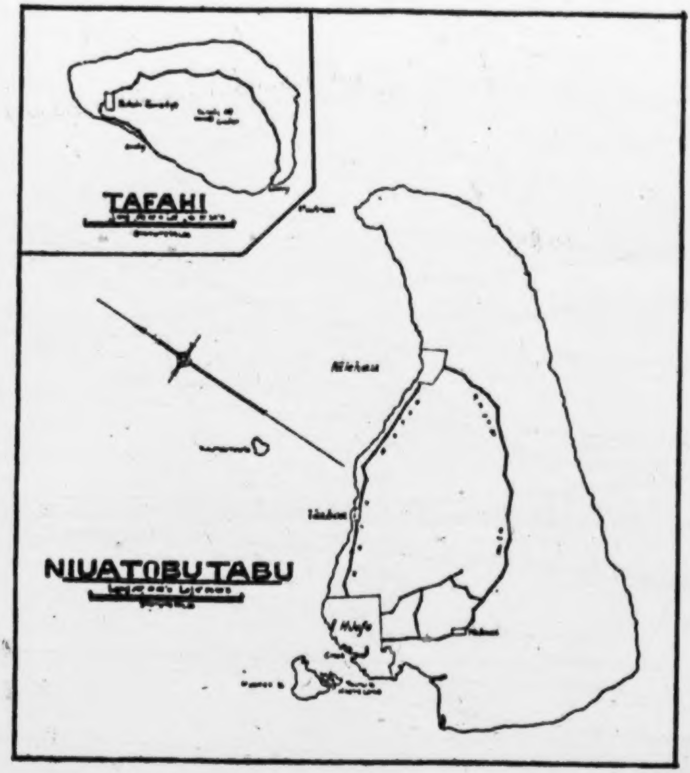
133 (5) TOFUA is a large island, 1,700 feet high, over five miles long
131 and about four miles wide. Its area is 21 square miles, of which over
three square miles is the area of the lake in the crater of the active volcano,
which the Tongans call Lofia. Smoke can often be seen issuing
133 from the summit of this volcano, but there is no record of any destruction
caused in recent years. Formerly the island was inhabited, the village
175 being called Manaka. In 1789, when Bligh and his loyal sailors, who
had been cast adrift from the "Bounty" between Nomuka and Tofua,
648 landed at Tofua to get water, they were attacked by the natives who
killed the quartermaster, Norton. The island has been deserted since
166 1854, when Tubou I ordered the inhabitants to leave because of the risk
of eruptions. Tofua and Kao are now used only for gardening by people
311 from the neighbouring small and crowded islands of Fotuha'a, Matuku
136 and Kotu; these people also occasionally hunt the wild pigs with which
Tofua is infested.
224

(6) KAO is an extinct volcanic island, a perfect cone like Egmont
133 in New Zealand and Fujiyama in Japan. The summit, called Tokonakao,
is 3,380 feet high, the highest point in the Tongan group, and easily
visible from Lifuka, 35 miles to the eastward. There was a village on
the island long ago, but on the shore, not on the summit as an old story
states. The narrow channel between Tofua and Kao is deep.

(7) LATE has a dormant volcano which has not erupted since
[131] 1854. Its area is over six square miles and height 1,700 feet; it has two
craters and a small lake. The peak is plainly visible for 50 miles on clear
[166] days, and has always been a landmark for navigators. Late was formerly
inhabited, but its people were taken to Huga, Vavau; it still
contains the remains of a fort with a stone wall. The island is very
fertile and densely-wooded.

[131] (8) FONUALEI is 40 miles N.W. of Vava'u and 600 feet high.
It was discovered by the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781; he named the
[175] island Amargura (Spanish for "bitterness"), because of his disappointment
in not getting food and water there. Though the volcano at Fonualei
[103] has been dormant for some years, in 1846 it threw ashes over such a
great area that the gardens in Vava'u were spoiled, and some ashes were
166 borne by the wind to ships as far as 500 miles away. The Government
now forbids habitation there and on the neighbouring small island, Toku.
Toku was formerly inhabited by refugees from Ha'amea, near Nafualu,
Togatabu, where tribal fighting often took place. The people of Toku
had gardens on Fonualei, but they now live at Utulei, Vava'u.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9



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(9) NIUA TOBUTABU is 167 miles north of Vava'u. The island 133
may be classed as of volcanic formation though there is no sign of any [131]
recent activity there. Niua Tobutabu is generally flat but rises to a hill
350 feet high in the centre. The area is nearly six square miles, and there [131]
are four villages with a population of 743. The island is subject to hurri- [162]
canes, the last severe one having taken place on 26th December, 1930.
The rhinoceros beetle which entered from Samoa threatened to destroy 731
the coconuts within recent years, but it has now been exterminated. [136]
There are two large stones on the island, called Fakafafa, said by a legend
to have been placed there by Maui. A spring with its small stream, 133
Niutoua, is an unusual sight in Tonga. The first Englishman who came
to Tonga, Captain Wallis, in 1767, named Niua Tobutabu Keppel and 175
Tafahi Boscawen, after two English admirals, and Keppel is the name 103
still often used by Europeans for the former island.

(10) TAFAHI is an extinct volcano with an elevation of 2,000 133
feet, a cone-shaped and very rocky island containing one small village.
Tafahi was the first part of the whole group seen by Europeans, the Dutch 175
voyagers, Schouten and Lemaire, in 1616. They called Tafahi Cocos
Island because of its trees, and Niua Tobutabu Traitors' Island because [103]
of the treacherous attack made on them by Ma'atu and his people. [648]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Disastrous hurricanes frequently occur, and the island has been 731
ravaged as recently as December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932.
During the hurricane season Niua Fo'ou is not visited by small craft. [132]
Though the island has been so repeatedly devastated by eruptions and
storms, and its condition seems to be more dangerous than that, for [166]
instance, of the uninhabited large island of Tofua, still there is no intention
of abandoning it for a safer home closer to the main islands of the group.

Its present population is 1,291. The inhabitants are a distinct 162
type, with local variations of the Tongan language due to ancient contact
with Samoa and Uvea, but more intercourse with the rest of the Tongan 197
group is causing these old words to fall into comparative disuse.

The "Tin-can Mail" is Niua Fo'ou's claim to distinction. As the 205
harbour at Agaha is inconvenient, and the sea is generally too rough for
canoes, the mail is taken by swimmers to the steamer which passes from
Samoa to Fiji. The outgoing mail is generally wrapped in oiled paper [415]
and tied to sticks, and the inward mail is brought back from the steamer
in a sealed tin-can.

THE CHIEF CORAL ISLANDS, WITH SCENIC AND HISTORIC PLACES.

133

'EUA. This island, which 131
is of great age geologically, ←
reaches a height of 1,078 feet,
and has an area of 33 square
miles. Although it is as large
as Vava'u and contains fertile 162
soil in abundance, its popula- 134
tion of 348 is most dispropor- ←
tionate. Its inadequate har-
bour at 'Ohonua and the some- 162
times dangerous channel be-
tween the island and Togatabu, 166
though disadvantageous to the ←
progress of 'Eua, do not really 102
explain the decline in its popu- 361
lation; this is due rather to 133
the proximity of Nuku'alofa →
with its attractions. Consid-
ering that many small islands 311
in Ha'abai support numerous ←
taxpayers who have no allot-
ments, the neglect of 'Eua is
regrettable.

'Eua was called Middel-
burg by its discoverer, Tas- 103
man, and Cook had a high 175
opinion of its beauty and fer- ←
tility. This island is unique
in several respects. It has 133
several small creeks which rise 136
from springs in the hillsides and ←
descend to the western shore;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society 648
missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where [797]
Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840.

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, 712
near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the
island is known as the Keli-'a-Belehake, which extends from Vaotu'u to [173]
Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa;
tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war
between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some
undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a 103
hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance 266
of human cremation and cannibalism. 764

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanokubolu
were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these 643
kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. [764]
The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known
to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes. 136

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which 133
extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance.

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument 648
stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). [211]
Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby.

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, 502
an island north of Nuku'alofa. The quarantine station is situated at
Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa. 504

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu,
small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable 316
that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were 174
cut at these places, and certainly not at 'Uvea and other distant islands
to which old native traditions refer.

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, 103
the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came.
Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which 133
is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and
Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most 131
of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the difficulties 162
of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts
have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to 311
take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people 505
of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen. 226

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also
the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook 634
was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life 175
on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also
attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, 648
Lifuka.

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon-mounds 172
used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown
use extending through the island.

'Uiha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, 764
Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga,
named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The 648
village of 'Uiha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which
met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle
of the 19th century.

Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan 644
society, the Tamaha.

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers 175
than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which 648
Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out. [312]

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and 502
at Muitoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be
approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, 311
though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations
or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelefesia and the 'Otu Tolu.

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful 133
northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Neiafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufuli.

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu ; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Neiafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, 361
and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least
the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than [184]
in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on [434]
European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere.
Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of 731
Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather
frequently, the last occasion being 13th March, 1932. 132

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be 175
discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781. 648

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, 669
and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took
place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great
trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa. 133

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral 349
stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone 172
for every first-born son in the district. 173

349 172 for every first-born son in the district. This wall stretches across an isthmus for 250 feet, with a thickness of 6 feet at the base and greatest height of 5 feet.

764 The great tomb (lagi) of Talafaiva, the beautiful wife of the illustrious Tu'i Toga, Tele'a, is on the island of 'Euakafa, in the south of Vava'u.

CAPES, BAYS, STRAITS AND REEFS.

133 The chief capes in Togatabu are Niu Aunofo or Van Diemen Pt. in the north-west, Houma Toloa or Cook Pt. in the south, and Mui Hoboboga or East Cape. [175 [648 In Lifuka, Ha'abai, the capes are Hulu'ibaogo in the south-west (where Cook saw a mound named Ta'agakiki, now the site of a cemetery) and Muikuku in the north-west where Cook anchored and also where the "Port-au-Prince" was attacked. The chief capes of 'Uta Vava'u are Muitoulo, Fata, Muitalau, Muikilikili, Nukumalolo, Vaifakalava, Tubouniua, Mata'utuliki, Matakiniua and Houma Fakalele.

133 103 The anchorage on the western shore of 'Eua was named English Roads by Cook. Maria Bay in the north-west of Togatabu was named by Tasman after Maria Van Diemen. In the lagoon of Togatabu, Faga Kakau and Faga 'Uta are sometimes marked as Bay of Bea and Bay of Mu'a. Port Maurelle in Kaba, Vava'u, commemorates the name of the Spanish discoverer. Boatalefusi is the local name of the far-famed 133 harbour of Vava'u. Other bays in Vava'u are Port Refuge, Vaiutukakau, Liku'one and 'Onetale.

The chief straits or passages in Togatabu are Biha or Eastern Passage, Ava Lahi and Egeria Channel. Of the numerous straits marked on Ha'abai charts the most important are Ava Auhagamea, Ava Vaha'afonua and Ava Matanukubule. The chief channels in Vava'u are Ava Bulebulekai and Faihava.

[643 [226 Pelorus Reef, south of 'Ata, was discovered by H.M.S. "Pelorus" in 1861; it marks the southernmost extremity of Tongan waters. North-west of Togatabu are Hakau Tabu, where only the fishermen of the Tu'i Kanokubolu were allowed to fish, and Hakau Mama'o. West of Nomuka is Hakau Fiji, where a large steamer was wrecked in 1924. Hakau Muikuku, Hakau Faka'ojitoume and Luahoko are the most well-known of the innumerable reefs of Ha'abai.

MOUNTAINS.

133 The list of islands in Appendix E shows their heights.[A] Few hills are high enough to deserve names. The most important of these in Vava'u are Mo'ugalafa (610 feet), Talau (430 feet) and Kafoa (430 feet), [773 and in Kaba the hill Teisina (310 feet). Two small hills in Togatabu have names: Bobua or Holohiufi or Cook's Hill (108 feet), near Ma'ofaga, said to have been cast down from the sky by Tagaloa 'Eitumatubu'a to provide good soil for the garden of his son, 'Aho'eitu; and Veiogo or Fugajia or Zion (60 feet), the site of the old fort and latterly of a church overlooking Nuku'alofa.

[A] [See Category 133, pp. 95-107—Analyst.]

132 The prevailing winds, which considerably temper the heat, are the
South-East Trade Winds. The ocean-currents are also from the south-east ;
133 interesting proof is found in the fact that wreckage from the steamer
"Tahiti," which foundered about 500 miles south-east of Togatabu in August, 1930, had drifted to the east coasts of Vava'u and the Ha'abai islands by the following December.

132 Hurricanes are seldom experienced in Togatabu, but they sometimes
occur in the northern islands where they work great havoc to plantations
731 and buildings. The most disastrous hurricanes of recent years
happened in 1912 and 1913 in Vava'u and Ha'abai. Niua Fo'ou was ravaged by successive blows in December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932, and the hurricane of December, 1930, destroyed almost every house in Niua Tobutabu.

731 Earthquakes are fairly common but are not severe, as a rule.
133 Instances of damage caused by tidal waves accompanying shakes are
recorded in some places such as Lifuka and 'Uiha, low islands of Ha'abai.

136

ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

231 Pigs, fowls and rats seem to have been brought to Tonga many
[439] centuries ago ; as already noticed, Tasman, Cook and other voyagers
[175] exchanged iron goods for pigs and fowls. Hunting rats was a favourite
sport of the chiefly archers in former times. Pigs and fowls still form the
[224] only meat-diet of the village-people. Their gardens are often spoiled by
[262] roving pigs ; and these creatures infest some uninhabited islands such
as Tofua, while the distant island of 'Ata swarms with fowls. Snakes
136 are unknown, but there are several varieties of lizard, including a green
lizard (fokai). There are numerous insect pests, such as centipedes and
mosquitoes.

231 Europeans have introduced horses, cows, goats, turkeys, etc.
[175] Cook presented the first horses, cows and sheep to Bau, Maealiuaki and
[177] Finau in 1777 ; the cattle were called Cook's "pigs" (buaka Tute) by the
natives, a circumstance which has given rise to the fiction that Cook brought pigs to Tonga. These islands are not very suitable for sheep.

Government statistics show the following animals in Tonga in 1931 :—7,467 horses, 1,661 cattle, 7 sheep, 18,231 pigs, 4,028 dogs, and 2,148 goats.

136 In 'Eua there is a green parrot which will not breed if taken elsewhere.
Probably the strangest bird in the group is the megapodius
(malau) at Niua Fo'ou which flies badly and leaves unusually large eggs
to be hatched in the sand ; this bird is also found in the Solomon Islands
[237] but nowhere between that group and Niua Fo'ou. The tavake is a bird
[566] whose blood-red tail-feathers were worn only by chiefs. As previously
stated, the absence of running water accounts for the rather small number of birds in the group.

Reference has already been made to the large number of flying-foxes which find sanctuary at Kolovai, in Western Togatabu.

The sea everywhere abounds in fish, and sharks are plentiful.
226 The people are expert fishermen, but of all their methods none is stranger

206 Wireless stations have been established at Nuku'alofa, Lifuka (Ha'abai), Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu ; only the first station has communication with other countries. There is also a telephone service at Nuku'alofa.

494 The advent of motor traffic has made the improvement of roads
necessary, and these have been built with the only available stone, coral
491 limestone.

VITAL STATISTICS, EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

161 The estimated population, full-blooded Tongans only, on 31st December, 1931, was 29,157. Tonga is one of the comparatively few Pacific Island groups where the population is steadily increasing. There is no justification for imagining that the population of Tonga has ever reached 30,000, but rather the indications are that, even in the most prosperous times before the coming of Europeans, it did not exceed 25,000. The present figures may therefore be taken as the highest level which the Tongan population has reached, and there is no fear that the country cannot support a population continuing to increase at the present rate for several decades.

162 Reference is sometimes made to Cook's statement that 10,000
175 people were present at the festival held in his honour at Togatabu, and
161 3,000 at Lifuka. Especially bearing in mind the visitors who would come
from other islands for such a unique event, these figures certainly do not
justify a belief in a greater population than the present. The land seemed
361 then to be better occupied as the people were spread out over their gar-
175 dens, there being no villages until the Civil War period.

Wilkes received an estimate from the missionaries in 1840, and
161 this may be compared with the Government statistics in this century,
noting the effects of the pneumonic influenza epidemic in 1918–19 and
[165] the way in which the loss of 1,000 lives then has since been more than
redeemed (these figures are for full-blooded Tongans only) :

1840	18,500	(excluding the two Niuas)
1900	20,019	
1911	21,712	
1917	24,245	
1918	23,842	
1919	22,689	
1920	23,128	
1924	25,109	
1927	26,597	
1929	27,660	
1930	28,431	
1931	29,157	

161 The Police Census of 27th April, 1931, gives a total of 28,839,
comprising 27,700 Tongans (this involving a discrepancy with the estimate
162 of the Registrar of Births and Deaths), 482 Europeans, 265 half-castes,
336 other Pacific Islanders, 56 foreigners, mostly Asiatics.

563 Racial inter-marriage is not so common at the present time ; nevertheless, a considerable proportion of those officially classed as "full-

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL SETTING AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Historical Background

172 Based on archeological evidence, proto-Tongan culture
has been operative on the Tongatapu environment for over
3000 years. The earliest inhabitants, however, were pro-
bably not cultivators. Kitchen middens and potsherds
indicate that the earliest settlements were along the
shores of the central lagoon and that inhabitants depended
almost entirely upon reef food (Groube, 1971:295-313).
There is no evidence in early Tongan or Samoan excavations
that vegetables foods were even utilized in the diet (Suggs,
174 1960:91). At a later date, possibly in the latter half of
the first millenium B.C., a shift from reef exploitation to
agriculture may have coincided with the introduction of
some of the major Western Pacific cultigens, as well as the
pig (Groube, 1971: 311-313).

174 From the time of this supposed shift from a restricted
175 maritime lagoonal economy to a horticultural economy until
361 well after the first European contact by Abel Tasman in
1643, the settlement pattern was probably one of dispers-
175 ed houses and gardens throughout Tongatapu. Tasman was very
311 favourably impressed with the industry of the Tongans. The
361 land was cultivated everywhere, and there were no villages.

175 Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being
361 separated by reed fences (Wood, 1945:81-19). After Tasman's
311 visit, a period of 130 years elapsed before further European
contact was made by Cook on his second voyage in 1773.
Cook also recorded that Tongatapu was extensively cultivated
with "the houses being surrounded by perfumed flowers and
set in the middle of food-gardens, the planting being
systematic and in rows . . . . . Good roads, arched over
with trees, went in all directions. There were no villages."
175 (Wood, 1945:18-19). The existence of dispersed and peaceful
361 settlements is attested to by Tongan tradition which "speaks
173 of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end
203 of Tongatapu to the other by calling from one farm to another,
a state of affairs described as fanogonongo tokoto
(making a proclamation while reclining)" (Gifford, 1929:4-5).

174 During this period of dispersed settlement, a strong
642 line of high chiefs established their authority over Tongatapu,
643 as well as the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups. This
period of strong central authority began with the first Tu'i
Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, around 950 A.D. (based on geneological
175 evidence). The line of high chiefs, starting with 'Aho'eitu
721 and including three major lines of royalty (the Tui'i Tonga,
Tu' Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines), provided for a
181 peaceful environment until the very end of the eighteenth
[643] century (Wood, 1945:5-18). According to Tasman, in 1643,
"we saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace

175 and friendship" (Sharp, 1968:56). When Cook arrived in
721 Tongatapu, although some weapons were observed, "the people
181 went about unarmed and seemed very peaceful"(Wood, 1945:19).

174 Tongans maintained a tradition, probably dating from
648 the time of first settlement, of voyaging to Fiji and Samoa
and possibly to the Tokelaus, Rotuma, and the Ellice Islands.
The Tongans were reputedly the main voyagers in the Fiji-
Tonga-Samoa area and maintained especially close ties with
174 the warlike Fijians to the east (Sharp, 1964:27-29). At
439 first these ties involved the bartering of Tongan goods,
such as whale's teeth, the tail of the sting ray (used for
pointing spears), tapa cloth, sail mats, and inlaid clubs
for Fijian goods, such as hardwood for building canoes, bowls,
pottery, red parakeet feathers(which were exchanged in Samoa
where they were used in decorating fine mats), and sandalwood
(Thompson, 1940:29; Derrick, 1946:30 and Latukefu, 1967:
175 59-60). In the latter half of the nineteenth century,[A] however,
648 Tongans began taking part in Fijian wars, helping certain
721 chiefs who rewarded them with the superior Fijian canoes
175 and weapons. These latter visits had "most evil effects on
721 Tonga" and probably played a great part in bringing to a
669 close the long period of peace and provided the impetus for
the brief period of civil disorder or "Dark Ages" that was to
follow (Wood, 1945:25).

Although an atmosphere of peace lasted through Cook's
last visit in 1777 and d'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere's

[A] [Author undoubtedly means the eighteenth century--Analyst.]

175 visit in 1793, a period of civil war between various high
669 chiefs throughout the archipelago prevailed from 1799 until
721 1852 (Wood, 1945:29-54).

797 The "missionary period", which essentially began with
669 the arrival of the first successful missionaries (John
721 Thomas, John Hutchinson and two Tahitians, Habe and Tafeta,
in 1825), overlapped the latter part of this period of civil
721 disorder. Between 1826 and 1852, the warfare in Tonga involved
669 struggles for political and religious influence between
798 heathen (often aided by Catholics) and Protestant
795 Christian factions. The final war in 1852, established the
642 dominance of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and of Christianity
643 over the entire archipelago. When Tu'i Laufilitonga(of the
[797] Tu'i Kanokupolu line) died in 1865, George Tupou I became
the political, military, and religious ruler of Tonga.
642 According to Maude (1965:35), the political stability created
648 by the unification of the Kingdom under Tupou I, was
182 probably the main reason Tonga was able to retain its independent
status when other Pacific Islands Kingdoms were
falling under the sovereignty of European powers.

797 During Tupou I's reign, the Wesleyan Mission maintained
642 considerable influence in Tongan politics. As early as 1839,
[643] Tupou I (then known as Taufa'ahau) had drawn up a code of
laws for Vava'u. This code was revised in 1852 to pertain
to the entire Tongan archipelago and further developed, with
assistance of the Revernd Shirley Baker, into the "Consti-

000 for self-identity.

Population Characteristics

101 Very little is known about the characteristics of the
Tongan population before European contact except that the
people were Polynesian culturally and physically.

Population size

175 Cook estimated at least 10,000 to 12,000 people
162 attended a dance in his honor on Tongatapu in 1777. Peron
in 1796 estimated around 25,000 people were seen in canoes
175 and along beaches of Tongatapu (Maude, 1965:26-27). Later
161 estimates of Tonga's pre-European contact population have
[162 been as high as 50,000 (Matoto, 1971:2). Maude (1965:26-27)
estimates that the population in 1799, at the onset of the
period of civil disorder, was at least 30,000 for the
entire archipelago and 13,000 for Tongatapu.

161 There is no evidence of any population loss until the
beginning of the nineteenth century, when a decline began
161 which lasted almost 100 years. The major causes of this
165 decline seem to have been the civil wars and numerous epi-
669 demics. The missionary John Williams (1837:308) wrote that
until a *few* year before 1830 "the whole island was in a high
state of cultivation, until frequent wars, combined with
successive attacks of dysentery and other diseases, had so
fearfully reduced the populations." Other accounts by Vason

161
162 Table 7. Population of Tongatapu (including 'Atata and 'Eueiki), other islands, and Tonga.

Area	1921	1939	1956	1966
Tongatapu	9,794	15,754	31,264	47,920
Other Islands	13,965	18,376	25,574	29,509
Tonga	23,759	34,130	56,833	77,429

Sources: Tupouniua, 1958:41; Fiefia, 1968:9.

class on Tongatapu.

178
433 The local marketplace, Talamahu Market, is becoming increasingly important as a source of food for the non-agrarian sector of the population and as a source of cash for the agrarian sectors.

● 175 Settlement Patterns

361 At the time of European contact, the settlement pattern was reportedly of dispersed residences on individual [351] garden allotments in the bush. Tasman, in 1643, found that "each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences" (Wood, 1945:15). Cook, in 1773, described Tongatapu as follows:

[487]

> The lanes or roads necessary for travelling are laid out in a judicious manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no town or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires (Gifford, 1929:5).

178
177 increased dependence on the cash economy, the traditional
182 forms of social organization are changing to allow more
602 individualism, egalitarianism, and personal freedom and
571 consequent modification of the traditional Tongan agricul-
tural system.

Land Tenure

●175 Traditional Land Tenure

423 Of the limited information concerning Tongan land
tenure before European contact, the most comprehensive
survey is that by Maude (1971). According to Maude, the
pre-contact system probably consisted of sets of over-
lapping stewardships, in contrast to the more individua-
175 listic present system. The basic landholding group was a
423 patrilineal known as a *fa'ahinga* or *matakali*. Each
565 *fa'ahinga* was headed by an *ulumotu'a*, who usually held a
631 hereditary title such as *matapule* (Ceremonial attendant) or
613 *foha* to the chief.

[621] A number of these *fa'ahinga* were grouped under the
authority of a chief, the highest ranking *fa'ahinga* with-
175 in this group being the chief's own. A number of related
423 chiefs, and their *fa'ahinga*, were grouped into *ha'a*, which
613 had rights over large tracts of land which "formed rough
631 but not completely exclusive territorial units" (Maude,
565 1971:107). The ultimate title to all land was probably
613 vested nominally in the Tu'i Tonga, who represented the
[643] highest ranking ha'a.

000 613 highest ranking ha'a.

423 At the lowest level of this system of overlapping
175 stewardships, the 'ulumotu'a had authority to allot parcels
621 [565] of land to members and households within his fa'ahinga
(Morton, 1972:50). Once a fa'ahinga had tenure on a given
parcel of land, their rights to it generally continued
[565] indefinitely, unless lost in war. Their rights, however,
[643] were also probably subject to acceptable behaviour and
[631] conformity to norms and could be overruled by the chief, the
head of the ha'a,or the Tu'i Tonga in extreme circumstances
(Maude, 1965:107-109).

423 The system was feudalistic and there were reportedly
175 many exactions by the chiefs on the land holder. These
631 included the provision of labor, first fruits,and food for
565 important occasions. The landholders's position was subservient
651 to the higher chiefs, and ultimatly to the Tu'i
Tonga, with little security in land or its produce (West,
1865"261-263; Rutherford, 1971:58).

423 Development of the Present System

178 Major changes in the traditional system followed the
accession to power of Tupou I in 1845. The central government
423 assumed sole authority to grant titles to land (1850)
178 with the prohibition of the sale of land to anyone, non-Tongans
656 (1850)or Tongans (1872) (Maude, 1971:109-110).
[177] According to most accounts, many of these early changes
were attempts, brought about with the help of Wesleyan

173 probably the first chief who refused to continue paying tribute to the king in Manu'a. He was said to be the son of a god, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, who came down to earth along a great tree and cohabited with a Tongatapu woman. This, with other tales, indicates a race of Proto-Polynesians already living in Tongatapu when the line of sacred kings, the Tu'i Tonga, began about 950 A.D.(5).

173 648 The old tales of Tonga and Samoa agree in relating that Samoa was subject to Tongan overlordship for many years, until about 1250 A.D., when the first Samoan chief named Malietoa received that complimentary title (meaning "Congratulations on your victory") from the 15th Tu'i Tonga, Talakaifaiki, whom the Samoan chief had vanquished and driven out of his land.

It is probable that, in the period of their domination over Samoa, the Tongans were overlords also of other groups in the Central Pacific, as tales from Rotuma, Uvea, Niue, and other islands to the north indicate. The Tongans' daring voyages and far-ranging conquests made them "The Vikings of the Pacific".
[181] They acquired a reputation for arrogance that has not left them in modern times.

173 349 Another distinction which ancient Tongans merited came from their skill in building monuments which stand today in eastern districts of Tongatapu. These show the prowess of the kings who were able to command the labour of the great numbers required to erect the forty-nine large terraced tombs, the Langi, and the trilithon, the Ha'amonga.(4)

173 643 The stories narrated in the Tongans' poems revolved, naturally, around their ancient kings. One of these described how, about the year 1470, the 24th Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonuafekai, handed over direct rule of the country to his brother who then began a second line of rulers, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Indolence and probably also a fear of assassination induced the Tu'i Tonga to take this action. His father, Takalaua, 23rd Tu'i Tonga, had just been murdered. Henceforth the Tu'i Tonga was satisfied to receive tribute and first-fruits given him as a religious duty at his seat at Mu'a, in eastern Tongatapu. The position of Tu'i Tonga ceased in 1865 when it was abolished by George Tupou I, Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tonga's first constitutional ruler.

The first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungamotu'a, was a brother of the Tu'i Tonga,
Kau'ulufonuafekai, who had forgone the secular position. About the year 1610
the Tu'i Ha'atakalua at that time, Mo'ungatonga, followed the same pattern of
divesting himself of temporal power when he appointed his son, Ngata, to be
responsible for ruling the people, with the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. The mother
of Ngata was a Samoan lady, hence the name Kanokupolu (= "substance" of
[554] Upolu, a large island in Samoa). The last Tu'i Ha'atakalua died in 1799. Although
the title itself lapsed the descendants of this line have been given the chiefly
name of Tungi, prominent in modern Tongan history.

The positions of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were hereditary. The Tu'i Kanokupolu was elected by the leading chiefs who generally chose the eldest son of the previous king.

175 643 [269] The third line, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, ruled Tonga in temporal affairs when Europeans, beachcombers and missionaries, came. This ruler's seat was in Hihifo, the western district of Tongatapu. His authority was not always respected by some of the chiefs, especially the Ha'a (= tribe) Havea in the central district of Tongatapu; their intermittent rebellions caused the civil wars at the turn of the 18th-19th Centuries and continued in the opposition to George Tupou I that lasted until fighting finally ceased in 1852.

177 Tasman's visit was more important. After discovering Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand, he sighted 'Ata, the lonely southernmost island of the Tongan group, at the foot of the western volcanic chain. This occurred on 21 January 1643. The name Pylstaart was given to this island. Tasman visited 'Eua which he called Middelburg; Tongatapu, named Amsterdam; and Nomuka, in the southern part of the Ha'apai group, which he called Rotterdam. The news of the Dutchmen's firearms in the Niuas in 1616 had taught the people in the southern islands the necessity for caution and dissuaded them from any hostile acts. Tasman recorded that he saw no weapons. He also thought the Tongans had no religion because he did not see any temples. The people impressed him as friendly and willing to barter food.

The visits of Captain Cook were of considerable significance. Except for the Englishman, Wallis, who called at Niua Toputapu for one day, in 1767, no European had visited any of the Tongan islands for 130 years, that is, since Tasman.

Cook first visited Tonga on 2 October 1773. He spent five days at 'Eua and Tongatapu. His second visit was even briefer, when he called at Nomuka to obtain fresh water on 26 June 1774. The third visit was prolonged and closely-reported; it lasted from 30 April to 17 July 1777. At Nomuka and afterwards at Lifuka, the main island of the Ha'apai group, Cook was entertained by Finau 'Ulukalala, who pretended to be the highest chief in Tonga. The name "Friendly Island" was given by Cook to Lifuka because of the overflowing hospitality he received there.(12) The name was later applied to Tonga as a whole.

It was ironical that, at the original "Friendly Island", Cook narrowly escaped an organized attack upon his two ships and their crews. The treacherous Finau 'Ulukalala had made a plot which fell through only because of a disagreement among the chiefs about the time for the attack. It was from William Mariner, who was told about the plot by the Tongans thirty years later, that Cook's escape become known.

175 181 Cook's flattering opinion of the Tongans supported his belief that they were indeed "Friendly Islanders":—

> "Their countenances very remarkably express the abundant mildness, or good nature, which they possess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They are frank, cheerful, and good-humoured . . . Their peaceable disposition is sufficiently evinced from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas, they have never appeared in the smallest degree hostile . . . Upon the whole, they seem possessed of many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind — such as industry, ingenuity, perseverance, affability, and perhaps other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent our observing. The only defect sullying their character that we know of, is a propensity to thieving." (13)

177 The Tongans knew how to dissemble as well as how to make favourable impressions, particularly through their greatest ceremonial which Cook witnessed — the presentation of the tribute to the Tu'i Tonga, at the lagoon at Tongatapu, near Alaki, a place now marked by a commemorative plaque in Cook's honour. They also entertained the visitors with massed exhibitions of Tongan dancing. Of one of the many exhibitions at Lifuka and Tongatapu, a dance given by three rows of men with 105 in each, Cook wrote —

> "Such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European theatre,

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Chapter II.

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN TONGATAPU

(1797-1800)

These pioneer missionaries came to the South Seas with little knowledge of 797 the situation of the inhabitants. Cook's *Voyages* had given its readers a picture 175 of amiable people in idyllic settings, and it was thought that they might readily be converted to Christianity. Missionaries were inspired by the Evangelical Revival and the upsurge of proselytizing zeal that it had aroused in England. The London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, was organized at first on an inter-denominational basis, with Evangelical Anglicans such as Dr. Thomas Haweis prominent among the Directors; it was supported mainly by the Congregational Churches in later years.

The missionary ship *Duff* which sailed from London on 10 August 1796 brought a company of men whose willingness to make sacrifices was unquestionable. Captain James Wilson, master of the vessel, gave his services without salary. Nor should the generosity of the Directors of the Society and their supporters be overlooked; the equipping of the *Duff*, the initial supply of stores and tools, and the continued provision of such necessary goods meant very heavy expenditure. The gallantry of the enterprise was the greater when it was launched in a time of war between England and France. The *Duff* had to sail in a convoy. Attacks by French privateers were expected and, in actual fact, the *Duff* on its second voyage to the Pacific, in 1799, was captured while still in the Atlantic. When the mission party reached its distant destination communications were likely to be uncertain and the missionaries might well be left stranded for many months.

Tahiti and Tongatapu were chosen as suitable fields because it was thought that the language in each case would be easily acquired, that the climate and food would be congenial, and that the absence of European governments would facilitate missionary work. Cook's *Voyages* had stated that the Tongans knew the names of 150 other islands, and it was therefore supposed that Tongatapu had some influence over other groups. Thus Tongatapu as well as Tahiti was regarded as a testing-ground for a general mission to the South Seas. Optimistic prospects were strengthened by Cook's commendation of Tongatapu as a peaceful land. The events that followed completely falsified this expectation.

Insufficient honour has been paid to the L.M.S. pioneers in Tonga. That three of them were killed in a civil war in which the missionaries were helpless spectators heightens respect for their devotion. Their failure to win a convert among people who, in fact, did not understand why they had come, does not detract from the credit they deserve.

The obstacles which the missionaries found were largely due to the volatile moods of the chiefs and the unsettlement of the country at that time. To their [177] dismay they soon realized that the people's sole aim in dealing with Europeans was to get tools and other goods, by begging or stealing or by wrecking the

[1797]

white men's ships. The Tongans did not show the least interest in Christian 797
teaching and, under the circumstances, this was hardly surprising. 175

It is easy now to find grave errors in this venture. To teach the Tahitians [177]
and Tongans trades and to endeavour to set up a model society along English lines was idealistic but impracticable. The uneven quality of the members of the mission party was a serious handicap. They had been selected mainly for their knowledge of trades, and some of these trades were inapplicable to the islands (for example, bricklayer, butcher, draper, hatter). Some of the men were not sufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to succumb to the temptations of a strange and enervating environment. Only six of the thirty missionaries on the *Duff* were married; twenty-two were under thirty years of age. Dr. Haweis had actually favoured using single men, with the hope, he said, that they might marry converts from the families of high chiefs in the interests of further conversions.(1) Of the thirty, twenty proved unfaithful or unequal to the work.(2) Five of the original party in Tahiti remained faithful and were rewarded with eventual success. It was this minority who finally justified the Society's enterprise in Tahiti. The record of most of the L.M.S. survivors in Tongatapu indicates that they also were loyal to their commission.

The *Duff* reached Tahiti, after its long voyage, on 5 March 1797, a Sunday; and on that day the Gospel was first preached in the South Seas by Evangelicals. Those who had come to work in Tahiti had brought a rough vocabulary compiled by one of the crew of the *Pandora* which had called there six years before. On the other hand, there was nothing whatever prepared for the ten men who elected to go to Tongatapu; they had to depend for interpreters upon several castaway whites who generally were hostile. If civil war had not occurred the missionaries might have learnt the Tongan language in the same way as their nondescript interpreters had done. Without knowing the language, without any reliable authority to support them, living among a thieving population and a few whites who became treacherous opponents, and with their own indifferent intellectual equipment, the L.M.S. had insuperable obstacles from the outset.

Before leaving Tahiti the ten missionaries designated for Tongatapu chose Seth Kelso as their leader. On 19 March Kelso was ordained by the four ministers in the party who themselves had been ordained before leaving England.

On 10 April 1797 the *Duff* anchored off the small island of Pangaimotu, Tongatapu. Two days later the men landed and met chiefs including Mumui, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who expressed his desire to be taught how to make the kind of furniture he had seen on the ship. The missionaries decided to fix their residence in Hihifo, the western district, under the patronage of Tuku'aho, the son of Mumui. On 17 April the first sermon in Tonga was preached by John Buchanan; and the party observed the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on 7 May.

Very soon after their arrival the missionaries witnessed the "paroxysms of
grief" which marked the funeral of Mumui who died on 27 April. Two of the 643
king's wives and a grandson had been strangled before his death. The funeral 764
ceremonies were attended by about 4,000 people. Hundreds of men used clubs 175
and spears to injure themselves. The missionaries were sickened by the daily 768
scenes of self-inflicted blood-shedding. [304]

Before the *Duff* left Tongatapu a runaway sailor more friendly than the 797
others on the island informed Captain Wilson of a plot to capture the ship. Eight 609
large double-canoes and hundreds of men surrounded the ship; they had to be 175

[1797 - 1822]

ordered away from the vessel which loaded its guns. Another danger was detected 797
the following night; in the darkness men were found attempting to cut the cable 609
so that the ship would drift ashore and be captured there. 175

The greatest hindrance to any possible success for the Mission came from 797
three men of vile character — Connelly, Morgan and Ambler, the first two being 563
escaped convicts from Sydney. Morgan and Ambler were killed at a later date 175
by the chiefs because of their gross disrespect. Each of these three men lived with several women and behaved in brazen defiance of Christian principles. They were more importunate in demanding tools and did more thieving than the Tongans. When their demands were refused, they threatened to turn the people against the missionaries. This they did without any scruples. They told the Tongans that they themselves were sons of the King of England and that the missionaries were only commoners. When the missionaries informed the Tongans that these men were in fact criminals, the rascals' wrath knew no bounds. They attributed the deaths of several chiefs to the prayers of the missionaries and they declared that the newcomers were preparing for the annexation of Tonga by the English government after the chiefs were dead. Thus early was the fear of losing Tonga's independence used against the interests of a Christian Mission.

At first the missionaries did not close their doors for worship, but the people's curiosity and irreverence made them change their practice, very unwisely as it proved. Holding their worship behind closed doors gave colour to the convicts' lie that they were practising secret magical rites to destroy the Tongans.

When the captain of a passing ship was asked by the missionaries to take Morgan and Ambler away, he declined because some of his crew recognized them and feared the consequences if they joined the vessel. Three of the crew of this ship came ashore and the missionaries begged the captain not to allow them to bring firearms, but one sailor ignored this request. The L.M.S. party now decided that it would be safer to divide their forces; six remained at Hihifo and four went to live elsewhere under the protection of other chiefs.

Two of the party, Shelley and Cooper, paid a short visit to Vava'u. Evidently 797
they did nothing more than this, and their visit did not deprive the three L.M.S. 175
teachers from Borabora who went to Vava'u in 1822 of the honour of being the first to endeavour to take Christianity to that island.

When the *Duff* returned to Tongatapu in 1798 with more stores and tools, 797
one of the party, Isaac Hobbs, went away with the ship. The nine were reduced 563
to eight when George Vason chose to desert his comrades and live with the 175
Tongans, renouncing his faith and taking a Tongan woman as his partner. This defection was "the unkindest cut of all" and left the others in the depths of depression. Vason attached himself to Mulikiha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, who gave him an extensive plot of land which Vason and a band of retainers cultivated with fruitful results; and there he luxuriated shamelessly.

Mumui had been succeeded as Tu'i Kanokupolu by his son, Tuku'aho. With 797
him began a gloomy era, not only for the missionaries who had met with no 643
success whatever even before the Civil War, but for the whole of the country. 175
Tonga was entering its Dark Age.

The new Tu'i Kanokupolu proved a Nero in his fiendish cruelty. On one 643
occasion he ordered the left hand of each of twelve servants to be cut off, 175
merely, it seems, to differentiate them from others and not for any offence. At

[1797-1799]

another time Tuku'aho condemned a woman to be sawn asunder lengthwise after 643
she fell under his displeasure. Such acts were bound to provoke reaction. In the 175
Civil War that soon ensued the barbaric practices that young Tongans had found [177]
in Fiji were repeated in their own country, with gross disregard for the nobler
principles of Tongan society.

For centuries there had been intercourse between Tonga and the islands 175
of Lau, the eastern group of Fiji. Many Tongans chose to live there. Other parts 177
of Fiji were visited by the Tongans who traded for the sandalwood of Macuata [167]
and the coveted red feathers of Kadavu parrots. The Fijians were renowned [439]
canoe-builders and they had the timber needed for this work. The making of
large canoes occupied from five to seven years and Tongans who came for these
often stayed in Fiji for that period. In the latter part of the 19th Century also
young Tongans went to study Fijian methods of warfare and the fortifications
they used.

> "Fiji became the war college of Tonga, whose young men were sent to this distant seat of interminable quarrels and petty wars, to acquire experience in the war parties of Fijian chieftains." (3)

The historian of Fiji, R. A. Derrick, has vividly described the experiences of young Tongans in Fiji in this period:

> "The young bloods of Tonga who thirsted for excitement and renown went to Fiji where there were alarums and excursions in plenty, war and rapine, easy living at the expense of their Fijian hosts, and freedom from the restraints of their elders. The islands of Eastern Fiji were to the Tongan warriors what the fields of France were to the knights and esquires of Plantaganet England. The Tongan youth had only to join a party going to Fiji for canoes to place himself in the way of gaining honour and fame to satisfy the most ambitious." (4)

Fiji had long been notorious for savage fighting and also for its disunity.
Tonga now adopted the same pattern of internecine strife. For a time the 175
authority of the Tu'i Kanokupolu hardly existed. Had such rebellions and disorder 669
continued, and had Taufa'ahau (the future George Tupou I) not appeared as the
leader of Tonga, the nation would probably have lost its independence eventually
as Fiji did for similar reasons.

That Tuku'aho met a rival chief of equally savage disposition was not only 175
a misfortune for him; it was a calamity for the whole country. Finau 'Ulukalala II, 669
son of Cook's host, showed ambition and ferocity that matched Tuku'aho's. The 643
nation paid a woeful penalty in the Civil War for the rivalry of these unprincipled 634
leaders.

Tuku'aho was treacherously murdered on 21 April 1799, after being Tu'i Kanokupolu for barely two years. Chiefs and people from all parts of Tonga had gathered in the ancient capital, Mu'a, for the presentation of tribute to the Tu'i Tonga. This was expected to be a time of peace with the sanctions of the religious festival. The arch-conspirators, Finau 'Ulukalala and his half-brother, Tupouniua, had a large body of men ready to carry out their designs against Tuku'aho. Immediately after the festival ended the two chiefs crept under cover of darkness into the house of the sleeping Tu'i Kanokupolu, guided by the smell of his sandalwood oil. After Tupouniua clubbed Tuku'aho to death Finau's men rushed in and killed the king's wives and other occupants of the dwelling.

The Civil War broke out as a campaign of revenge on the part of the royalists, the men of Hihifo, who were enraged by the murder of the Tu'i Kanokupolu whose residence was in their district. The Hihifo army fought not

[1799 -1800]

only against men from Ha'apai and Vava'u, led by Finau 'Ulukalala, the head 175
and front of the rebellion, but also the followers of the Ha'a Havea chiefs in the 669
central district of Tongatapu. Mulikiha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, from that 634
district, allied himself with Finau 'Ulukalala; the renegade Vason relates that 643
Mulikiha'amea, his patron, had known of the plot to kill Tuku'aho.

In the first battle the rebel coalition was successful, but soon afterwards it 175
was defeated by the royalists at the battle of Te'ekiu, and Mulikiha'amea himself 669
was killed in this fight, on 19 May 1799. The lamentable deaths of three L.M.S. missionaries took place that day.

The defeated rebels fled from Te'ekiu, with the Hihifo men in hot pursuit. 175
Three of the missionaries (Samuel Harper, David Bowell, and Samuel Gaulton) 669
had been living in Ha'ateiho, a village in the central district, under the protection
of the local chief. On this fatal day, 19 May, some of the retreating rebels tried 797
to persuade the missionaries in Ha'ateiho to flee with them in canoes across the 609
lagoon to the eastern end of the island. The three men preferred to remain. Soon afterwards the Hihifo pursuers appeared. One of these was a man with a grudge against the missionaries who had refused his request for an axe some time before. Taking advantage of the white men's helpless situation, this warrior and his comrades clubbed them to death without hesitation and then proceeded to steal everything in their house. Together with the three missionaries there perished a friendly English sailor named Burnham who had been living with them. The four bodies, grossly disfigured, were left on the roadside for several weeks, treated with coarse indignities by the now utterly savage Tongans. It was on 5 June that the other missionaries found the almost unidentifiable remains and buried them in a shallow trench, without coffins or shrouds; later, the chief of Ha'ateiho reinterred the bodies in a decent grave, the location of which is unknown today.

The confused battles of the Sea Flats, along the northern shores of Tongatapu, 175
followed. In these, fortunes changed several times. In the course of these desultory 669
encounters many of the royalists took refuge in the burial-enclosure of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line at Pangai, Hihifo, expecting to find sanctuary in such a sacred place. Because Vason was outside the *tapu* (= prohibition) he was persuaded by the rebels to set fire to the burial-enclosure. All those within, men, women and children, were burnt to death or were killed by Finau's men as they tried to
escape from the flames. After every possible insult had been heaped on the [266]
bodies they were eaten. Cannibalism had become commonplace in these days of barbarism.

The five surviving missionaries were in a most precarious position. At first 175
they found shelter in caves on the southern coast. Their house in Hihifo had 669
been ransacked and burnt down, their clothes stolen by the people among whom 797
they had lived, and they had very little food. On 24 January 1800 they were fortunate in securing a passage to Sydney in a passing ship, *Betsy*. William Shelley and James Cooper decided to settle in New South Wales. The others (Seth Kelso, John Buchanan, and James Wilkinson) continued on the voyage to England.

When Captain Wilson brought another party of L.M.S. missionaries to the 175
South Seas in the *Royal Admiral* in 1800, his instructions were to call at 797
Tongatapu and to take away any who desired to leave. If they were staying he was charged to inform them that one or more should be ordained so that there would be at least three ordained ministers in every L.M.S. station such as

[1800-

Tongatapu. If Tahiti had proved an unsuitable field and if conditions in Tongatapu 175
were more favourable, he was instructed to take all the missionaries to Tongatapu 797
"as a refuge for the whole of our brethren".[5] Instead of being able to fulfil these instructions he found that the Mission in Tongatapu had ended in complete failure.

Vason, who had accompanied Finau 'Ulukalala to Vava'u after a lull in the fighting in Tongatapu, was able to get a passage on the same ship, *Royal Admiral*, when it called at Vava'u in August 1801. In England he sincerely repented of his apostasy and his participation in the savage conflicts in Tongatapu. Thenceforth he lived a quiet Christian life and was Governor of Nottingham Gaol for some years. During this time he wrote his *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Existence at Tongatapu*,[A] which narrated the experiences of the L.M.S. missionaries.

Conditions in Tonga deteriorated still further in the next few years, with 175
repeated attacks on Tongatapu and the destruction of plantations by Finau 669
'Uluakalala's marauding parties. Most of the people in that island lived in forts
for safety, and practically no planting was done for fear of being ambushed in
the gardens. The consequence was famine, more terrible than any known before [731]
these disastrous years. Famine raged in Ha'apai also. The cannibalism practised [266]
out of bravado during the fighting was extended even to the eating of the flesh
of relatives, because of the desperate plight of the famine-stricken people. It has [165]
been estimated that more than one-fourth of the population of Tonga died in
the period 1799-1820 as victims of war and famine. The early Wesleyan [161]
missionaries noted as an evidence of the depopulation of Tongatapu that females [162]
outnumbered males approximately two to one.

Footnotes:

[1] Newbury, C. M., edition of John Davies, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, Vol. I, p. xxix. 113
[2] Lovett, R., *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. I, p.64.
[3] McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, p.122.
[4] Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.122.
[5] Haweis, Dr. Thomas, *Papers; Royal Admiral Journal*, A.1963. M.L.S.

[A] /see 12: Vason, this file -- Analyst/

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1802-1824]

Chapter III.

"A NATION OF WRECKERS"

Far from being a nation of friendly islanders, the Tongans of this period had 175
become "a nation of wreckers".(1) The tools and other treasures from the outside 181
world which the Tongans stole from strangers on their shores only whetted their appetites for ships and their contents, including the guns which would give victory in the Civil War. Tonga soon gained a new and evil reputation for cunning 175
attacks on vessels, such as the following:— 177

Duke of Portland, a Boston whaler, which called at Tongatapu in June 609
1802. A white man helped the Tongans to attack the ship after the usual professions of friendship had been given by a chief. Many of the crew were killed and their bodies thrown overboard. A woman, Elizabeth Morey, was taken to be the servant of the chief's wife. After the cargo had been taken ashore the four remaining crewmen surprisingly drove off the natives, killed the treacherous white man, and took the ship out to sea.

Union, another American ship, which reached Tongatapu on 30 September 1804. Again Tongans swarmed over the ship but were ordered off. In one of the canoes surrounding the ship was the white woman, Elizabeth Morey, who made signs to the crew not to accept an invitation to go ashore. She then swam to the ship under cover of the sailors' muskets. Those sailors who had gone ashore were murdered and eaten.

Port-au-Prince, in 1806, with 26 of its crew killed and 34 spared to work the captured guns.

Mercury, 1809, which would have been captured but for the warning given by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince* and was still living in Tonga.

Supply, at 'Eua in 1822, attacked after a boat had gone ashore to get water. Three of the ship's company and several Tongans were killed in the fight on board.

Elizabeth, at Vava'u in 1823, which escaped after an attack led by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince*; four of the crew were killed.

In some instances sailors were guilty of shameful acts against the people on shore. Reprisals could then be expected against the next ship that called. *Rambler*, at Vava'u in 1824, was one that suffered because of the misconduct of a previous vessel; its captain was among those killed. Other ships would have been attacked but for the watchfulness of their captains.

The attack on *Port-au-Prince* was the most famous incident, not only because of the effect of the guns that Finau 'Ulukalala used afterwards, but because of the classic account of Tonga given by William Mariner, who lived with his captors for four years.

Port-au-Prince, English whaling ship and privateer, 466 tons, with 28 guns, 175
had despoiled Spanish shipping and towns along the western coast of South 177
609
721

[1806]

America before it visited Lifuka, Ha'apai. The ship's company included the lad 175
Mariner, the captain's clerk, only 13 years of age when the ship left England 177
and 15 when *Port-au-Prince* was attacked. The captain had expected from Cook's 609
account that he would find a favourable place in Ha'apai for repairing his leaking 721
vessel. The spot where Cook's ships had anchored and had escaped from the plot in 1777 was the scene of the tragic destruction of *Port-au-Prince* on 1 December 1806. With extraordinary imprudence the captain allowed Tongans with their weapons to wander about his ship. They were under orders from the wily Finau 'Ulukalala who had professed friendliness towards the captain. At a given signal the sailors were attacked by 300 Tongans; twenty-two were killed and their bodies cast into the sea. The captain and three others on shore also were killed. The rest, thirty-four, were spared to work the guns which Finau had especially coveted. He took a fancy to young Mariner, who became attached to his entourage and was given a Tongan name, Toki 'Ukamea (= Iron Axe). While the ship was being broken up to get the iron the barrels of whale-oil in the hold burst; eight Tongans were drowned. Taufa'ahau, the future king, then a boy about nine years old, was pulled out of the oil just in time. The ship was burnt and the silver coins and plate which had been taken from the Spaniards were melted and lost in the fire.(2)

Finau 'Ulukalala took eight cannons to conduct the war on a new scale in 175
Tongatapu. In this invasion he first made an assault on the fort at Nuku'alofa. 669
This fort, the largest of twelve then existing in Tongatapu, stood on the hill 713
afterwards called Zion because of the Wesleyan chapel there. The fort was more 634
than four acres in extent, surrounded by a reed fence nine feet high and two 712
ditches, each twelve feet in width and of the same depth. While the bombardment was being made from the beach, Finau observed the effect from the reef where he sat on a chair taken from the *Port-au-Prince*. After one hour the fort seemed to show little sign of damage but, when Finau's men had gone closer and burnt the fort, they were able to enter it without any opposition. The havoc resulting from the bombardment was then evident, and Finau felt satisfied with the success of his new style of warfare. The bodies of 350 defenders who had been killed by the guns were thrown into the sea.

Finau's treachery and insatiable ambition were further revealed in the murder 175
of his half-brother, Tupouniua. The plot was carried out, with Finau's connivance, 669
by Tupouto'a, son of Tuku'aho, the Tu'i Kanokupolu whom Tupouniua had killed 634
in 1799. After Tupouto'a had taken his revenge the chiefs in Vava'u retaliated against the murderer of their governor Tupouniua, and his accomplice, the lord of Vava'u and Ha'apai, Finau himself. The Vava'u chiefs built a fort on the hill-top 175
at Feletoa, an inland village. It was so large that it included the cave on the 669
hillside with the entrance to an underground stream, and it was capable of holding 634
all the inhabitants of Vava'u, estimated at 8,000. Its area and the dimensions of 712
its walls and ditches exceeded those at Nuku'alofa. Shrewdly the defenders of Feletoa had built the outside earth-walls of their fort so high that cannon-balls would strike them but not penetrate the interior of the fort. When Finau brought his army and his much-vaunted guns from Ha'apai he found that, after six hours' bombardment, his guns were useless against the Feletoa fort. As his weary men 175
dragged the guns back to Finau's base on the shore at Neiafu, they freely cursed 669
the Englishmen who could make guns fire cannon-balls but were not clever 634
enough to make them walk! A peace settlement followed, but Finau, deceitful as

[1806 - 1822]

ever, arrested the Vava'u chiefs who had fought against him; those who were 175
not clubbed were drowned outside the harbour in old leaky canoes. Finau was 669
now at the height of his power. He felt so confident that he even defied the gods. 634

Finau was not alone in the new spirit of scepticism about religion that had 175
accompanied the general attitude of rebellion and unrest. Collocott, with his years 634
of residence and research in Tonga, has written — 771

> "By the close of the 18th Century there was working a leaven of rationalism which recognized, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest."

Collocott believed that there would have been a revolution in Tongan society even without missionary influence, but the change was hastened by the coming of Europeans and the new religion.(3)

For some time Finau had been notorious for his irreverence towards the gods. His beloved daughter died soon after the end of the rebellion in Vava'u. Instead of mourning he ordered sports and mass fights, an unheard-of reversal of custom. The mass fights included a grim combat with 1,500 women in each party, representing the two sides of the island of Vava'u. He himself joined in the men's fight and was much exhausted by his exertions. The night following he showed sudden and alarming signs of illness. Fearing the worst, his attendants strangled one of his children to appease the gods, and then carried off Finau's body to the houses of various priests; these visits of intercession continued even after the chief had expired. Then it became known that Finau had sent two men with a rope to strangle the priest of one of the gods, and the horrified people firmly concluded that his death was the result of the gods' rage at this gross act of impiety. Thus perished the man who, more than any other, was responsible for the sufferings of these turbulent years. Unfortunately, the spirit of rebellion and unsettlement did not die with him.

Young Mariner was witness and chronicler of the events of the four years, 175
1806-10. Well educated, he was also most observant and blessed with a retentive 177
memory. After Finau's death, Mariner was befriended by the son, Moengangongo, whose amiable disposition was in complete contrast to his father's character, and who encouraged peace and the cultivation of the country that had been ravaged by years of war and plundering. To Moengangongo's genuine sorrow Mariner took advantage of a ship calling at Vava'u in December 1810 to return to England. He communicated his extensive knowledge of Tongan customs and the history of the period, together with a considerable vocabulary and a grammar, to a London surgeon, Dr. John Martin. *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands,* ^A published in two volumes in 1817, was the most detailed and reliable description of any Pacific Islands group in the early 19th Century.

No European recorded the events of the twelve years between Mariner's [777]
departure and the coming of the first Wesleyan missionary in 1822. It was during 175
this period that there emerged the figure of Taufa'ahau who was to have by far 643
the strongest influence on the future fortunes of Tonga and to deserve the unique respect in which the people still hold him.

Taufa'ahau was the grandson of Tuku'aho who had been murdered in 1799, and the son of Tupouto'a who became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1812. Tupouto'a waged war to enforce his authority, especially in rebellious Tongatapu, and this continued the country's misery.

^A /see 2 and 3: Mariner, this file -- Analyst/

[1820 - 1852]

Tupouto'a died in 1820 and was buried at 'Uiha, Ha'apai, close to the 175
grave of Tupouniua whom he had murdered in 1807. Taufa'ahau was about 643
twenty-three years old at the time of his father's death. No attempt was made 669
to appoint him or anyone else as Tu'i Kanokupolu after Tupouto'a's death; so 622
great was the unsettlement that the title temporarily lapsed. The only objection to Taufa'ahau was that he would be too energetic a ruler to please the rebels in Tongatapu who were led by the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the continuing core of opposition in Tongatapu to every Tu'i Kanokupolu in the previous twenty years. The Ha'a Havea chiefs, with their villages, were Ma'afu (Vaini), Lavaka (Pea), Vaea (Houma), Tu'ivakano (Nukunuku), Fielakepa (Havelu), and Fohe (Puke). The position of Tu'i Kanokupolu was left vacant until 1827, and sporadic fighting went on in Tongatapu.

Collocott, Gifford, and Latukefu, commenting on the events of these disturbed times, agree that, whether Taufa'ahau eventually became a Christian and whether he was disposed to induce others to become Christians or not, he would have been opposed always by the Ha'a Havea chiefs who were responsible also for the later wars of 1835, 1837, 1840, and 1852. When Tupouto'a was dying he told his son that, if he wished to rule all Tonga, he must defeat the Ha'a Havea chiefs. In 1827 the chiefs rejected forceful Taufa'ahau and elected Aleamotu'a, son of Mumui, younger brother of Tuku'aho (assassinated in 1799), and great-uncle of Taufa'ahau, as Tu'i Kanokupolu. This they did deliberately because they knew Aleamotu'a pusillanimous nature and expected that their arbitrary conduct would be unfettered by his nominal authority.

So confused were the years following the death of Tupouto'a in 1820 that there was no Tu'i Tonga also. Laufilitonga, who became Tu'i Tonga in 1827, was Taufa'ahau's rival in Ha'apai for influence over that group. He had cause to resent Taufa'ahau's masterful interference in preventing his sister from becoming Laufilitonga's principal wife. Laufilitonga's fort in Lifuka was Velata; Taufa'ahau's was Pangai. In the first encounter Laufilitonga proved stronger and Taufa'ahau retired to the south where he received reinforcements from the islands of Nomuka and Ha'afeva as well as some parts of Tongatapu. He returned to defeat Laufilitonga decisively and to capture Velata in 1826. In this fight Taufa'ahau was slightly wounded, this being noteworthy as the only occasion when this
happened. He declared that he had called on the gods to defend his back but a [771]
warrior speared him from behind in the left calf, whereupon Taufa'ahau denounced the gods as impotent. After this victory in 1826 all Ha'apai accepted Taufa'ahau's rule, except those whom he put in canoes and told to go wherever they pleased, except to Tongatapu. They disobeyed and were welcomed by the Ha'a Havea chiefs in Tongatapu. Laufilitonga himself was in this party, but he desisted from open opposition to Taufa'ahau when he became Tu'i Tonga the following year,
1827. In 1833 Taufa'ahau completed his defiance of Laufilitonga by taking his [797]
bride, Lupe Pau'u, to whom he was married by the missionaries with Christian [585]
rites in 1834.

In his pre-Christian days Taufa'ahau was wilful and violent. Gradually these 175
characteristics were modified while his ability and energies became clearer and 643
were more wisely directed. He is justly honoured as "The Maker of Modern Tonga". His long life spanned the whole of the critical period of its transition from disunity and unsettlement to its modern orderly position. He was the one mainly responsible for this. In his youth his physical strength, his athletic prowess, his natural courage,

[ca. 1820-1865]

and his ability as a general and a navigator showed the best qualities that such an age could produce. In middle life he was quick to see the benefits that Christianity and European civilization would bring to his country. In his old age he showed wisdom in adapting new forms and institutions to the needs of his kingdom. His record was not free from blemishes, the faults of the age in which he grew up. In spite of this, there is no doubt that his ideals were those of his country's well-being. If he had not united Tonga, this small, scattered group would not have withstood the tide of European aggression sweeping over the Pacific. 175 643

From the time of Taufa'ahau's conversion to Christianity he had a new motive for the development of Tonga as a responsible Christian country, and in pursuing this aim he found his allies in the Wesleyan missionaries. [797]

Footnotes 113

(1) Thomson, Basil, in Introduction to Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1,* p.13.

(2) Mariner, W. (Martin), *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands,* Vol. I, p.54; Maudslay, *Life in the Pacific 50 years Ago,* p.247 — for reference to the loss of the silver plate.

(3) Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History,* p.181.

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TONGA: NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF TONGAN SOCIETY AND MATERIAL CULTURE AT THE TIME OF CAPTAIN COOK

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

175 Although Tonga was discovered in 1616 by Le Maire, fleetingly described by
Tasman in 1643, and the northern islands were seen by Wallis in 1767, real knowledge
of Tongan culture had to await Captain Cook's visits. The written accounts
175 and ethnographic collections resulting from Cook's voyages are often our major
127 source for understanding the character of Tongan culture in the eighteenth century.
Yet, despite drawings, descriptions, and identifications which are outstanding for their time, little work has been done to interpret this early material in the light of other kinds of research in order to delineate the relationship between material culture and the social system.

[121] This article presents the preliminary results of several years' research in the field,
in libraries, and in museums in the Pacific, America and Europe, in which materials from Cook's voyages have played a central role. Cook's visits to Tonga (1773–4) on his second voyage are most important here. For although the visits were short, a
[439] great deal of trading was done; and only specimens and descriptions collected at
[177] that time are certain to be relatively free from European influence.[1]

Despite the abundance of artefacts and descriptions, their location and inter-
127 pretation are not as simple as one might expect.[2] Cook's crew often sold their
[439] 'curiosities' to the highest bidders and labels seldom accompanied them. At that
[175] time, moreover, some of the outstanding museums were private, for example,
those of George Humphrey, The Duchess of Portland, Daniel Boulter, William Bullock, and especially Sir Ashton Lever. Most of these early collections were eventually sold at auctions, and so the specimens became widely dispersed, often with the subsequent loss of the association with Cook. The owners of such 'cabinets of curiosities' usually had little interest in the precise identification or technical significance of the material, and items were regularly labelled simply 'South Seas'; indeed, 'Otahiti' often became a catchall term for the entire area. Some objects found their separate way to the British Museum, but little care was exercised in labelling them, either as having come from Cook's voyages or as to their original provenance. In fact most of these specimens seem not to have been numbered or labelled at the time of their acquisition. In the late nineteenth century, however, they were catalogued along with non-Cook specimens, apparently by Edge-Partington, and given a series of numbers reflecting their supposed origin. The collection was divided into four categories: *viz.*, HAW (Hawaii); TAH (Tahiti); NZ (New Zealand) and EP (eastern Polynesia). Some objects were assigned no numbers at all, and the Tongan material was for the most part not

[p. 204]

127 The existence of the original *Catalogue* of the Forster collection and the corresponding items in the Pitt Rivers Museum make it possible to establish for Tonga a list of 'type specimens' of known eighteenth century date, provenance, and in most cases, use. These items establish the end product of purely indigenous lines of development, as well as a base for change which came about because of European contact, making it possible to use concepts of time depth and change in studying this material culture. On the basis of these type specimens, we can identify other Tongan collections, and consequently separate Tongan materials from Tahitian, which in most collections have been hopelessly mixed. Moreover, by comparing the Pitt Rivers collection with the sister collection in Göttingen, and with information from other eighteenth century voyages, notably Cook's third voyage and those of Malaspina (1792) and d'Entrecasteaux (1793), we can build up what seems to be a fairly reliable picture of much of Tongan material culture in the eighteenth
[121] century.[5] Finally, by interpreting these data in the light of ethnohistoric and
ethnographic research, we can understand how these items were used and how they reflected the stratified social system of Tonga.

* * * * *

173 According to Tongan tradition, one day the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a climbed down from the sky on a great ironwood (casuarina) tree and cohabited with a woman of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of this union was 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu was old enough he went to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial inhabitants. This
173 was the origin of Tongan social structure and rank. 'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god,
565 became the first Tu'i Tonga—the first king. His celestial half-brother, Talafale,
643 became Tu'i Faleua, i.e., head of the second house. Four others, known as the
Falefa, became ceremonial attendants to the king, each with specific duties, e.g., organising the king's funeral. All these personages were socially elevated above Tongan commoners—the *tu'a*, who had descended from the worm. This myth thus provides a charter for one pattern of Tongan rank—the stratification of the society into *tu'i* (king), *'eiki* (chiefs), *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), and *tu'a* (commoners) (see Kaeppler in press).

'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god, is said to have lived over a thousand years ago (about A.D. 950) and all the chiefs of Tonga today claim descent from him through collateral segmentation. The chiefs are ranked according to the order of the
[613] splitting of their titles from the Tu'i Tonga line, and these lines (*ha'a*) are also ranked
internally according to the same collateral principles.

565 The commoners are thus differentiated from the chiefs, and the chiefs are ranked in relation to each other. Each chief receives respect from his people—and he, in turn, must respect the higher ranking chiefs. At the top of this hierarchy is the
[643] Tu'i Tonga, descending in a direct line from the god Tangaloa. The thirty-sixth
[173] Tu'i Tonga was Paulaho, whom Captain Cook met on his third voyage.

The most crucial concept for any understanding of Tongan culture, in Captain Cook's time or today, is that of hierarchical ranking. All inter-personal relationships in this island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and language, food and material culture reflect this pattern. Cook and his companions did not have
[175] sufficient time or knowledge of the language to sort out the intricacies of the system

of rank, but their observations add substance to the bare bones of tradition and give 175
us tantalising glimpses of rank in action. On the second voyage for instance, 565
Forster theorises on the origin of rank (1778: 353), while Cook tells of chiefs
succeeding chiefs and of special observances between lesser and greater chiefs.
Thus 'Otago' would not eat in the presence of the 'old chief', but when Cook 175
went to deliver presents to the 'old chief' he found 'a far greater Chief no less than 565
King of the whole Island' so great, in fact, that 'some when they approached him 648
fell on their faces and put their heads between his feet' and 'no one durst pass him till
he gave them leave' (Beaglehole 1961: 256–7). Forster writes that the 'chiefs 643
constantly gave the presents they had received from us to the Latoo'; and, further,
that 'their government has still much oriental despotism and slavish subjection to
chiefs and their Latoo' (1778: 378, 379). Cook concludes that the *Latoo* was the
first man on the Island under whom there were chiefs over certain districts and then
a third level of chiefs, of which his friend Otago was a member. This was not a
bad guess, in the light of only a few days' acquaintance with a complex system—
but not the correct one. For, as we have seen, the Tu'i Tonga, descendant of the
god Tangaloa, was the 'King' of all the archipelago and the divine ruler.

In order to understand the treatment of the *Latoo* we must first classify a second 612
type of ranking in Tonga—that among kinsmen (*kāinga*). Starting with ego's own 562
generation, the first principle of *kāinga* rank is that females have higher status than
males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder
outranking younger, comes into play. Thus, a girl of twelve years of age will have
higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationship of ego with his parental generation, another principle takes 602
precedence. An individual's kinsmen are divided into two classes—the paternal 554
kinsmen who rank higher than ego, and the maternal kinsmen who rank lower than 562
ego. Thus in the parental generation, the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister,
and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. Following these, [604]
father's brothers are distinguished in status according to age. Continuing with these
principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly
higher are the mother's sisters.

The relationships of ego to members of the generation below him depend 602
primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's 604
children are higher in status than ego, and this is reflected in the special term he uses 554
for them (*'ilamutu*), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. These 562
kinsmen are *fahu* (i.e., 'above the law') to ego and can take any of his possessions. [601]
Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations, such as first fruits, to his [431]
fahu throughout his life. Ego's brother's children, on the other hand, are classified [601]
with his own children (*'ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego.

Applying these principles to the Tu'i Tonga line, we see that the Tu'i Tonga 643
himself was outranked within his *kāinga* by his sister. She was distinguished by a 644
special title, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, i.e., the 'female Tu'i Tonga'. Of even higher
rank were the Tu'i Tonga's sister's children, and especially her eldest daughter, who 554
also had a special title, 'Tamaha'. On Cook's third voyage, Anderson tells us that 562
Latu 'made no scruple of taking any thing from the people even if it belong'd to the [612]
King' (Beaglehole 1967: 954). In this framework we see that he was simply
exercising his *fahu* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. Thus the Tamaha had high

643 social and ceremonial status because of her *kāinga* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga.
644 But the Tamaha did not have highest rank and little effective power, this being
554 necessary in order to avoid power play at this high level. This delicate matter was
562 handled in a very sophisticated manner. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was of such high
rank that no Tongan was high enough to marry her, so she was married to a
foreigner—a Fijian. Thus her children, because of the patrilineal emphasis of the
[611] society, belonged to a foreign line—the Fale Fisi. Rulers did not come from
foreign lines so there could be no problem in mixing succession to title with *kāinga*
rank.

644 'Latoo' (Latunipulu), at the time of Cook, was a son of the Tu'i Tonga's sister
554 and thus higher in *kāinga* status. Latunipulu's title was Tu'i Lakepa, which is the
senior line of the Fale Fisi. He in turn was outranked by his sister, the Tamaha
[612] Moungalakepa, whom Cook also met. When the Tamaha is not present, however,
one of her siblings can take her place, thus the Latoo in these early accounts was an
exalted personage indeed—but not the king.

643 In order to appreciate the significance of Cook's Journals in these matters, one
174 must also understand a third dimension of Tongan rank—i.e., the ranking of
554 chiefly titles, which originated by collateral segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga
line. The Tu'i Tonga, having power of life and death over their subjects, often
found themselves very unpopular and several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated. In
about the fifteenth century the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga appointed his younger
brother as a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, who was given temporal
power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.
The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for
himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and
the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. Eventually the second line lost in status
as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu grew. All these lines descended ultimately
[611] from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

175 Mariwaggy (Maealiuaki) mentioned in Cook's third voyage accounts was the
fourteenth Tu'i Takalaua and later the eighth Tu'i Kanokupolu—the titular head
643 of Ha'a Ngata. Otago (Siale'ataongo) belonged to the Ha'a Ngata line. Feenaugh
613 (Finau Ulukalala Feletoa) of Vava'u, was of even lower rank—being a member of
634 Ha'a Ngata Tupu, which descended from the fifth Tu'i Kanokupolu. Finau was a
554 great warrior and gave a lavish entertainment for Cook at which there was so much
food that Cook remarked it 'exceeded any present I had ever before received from
[574] an Indian Prince' (Beaglehole 1967: 108). Finau's line, though he tried to make
[648] Cook believe he was king of all the Friendly Isles (1967: 100), was of a line far
inferior in rank to the Tu'i Tonga. When Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, finally appears
on Cook's stage, Finau put Paulaho's foot to his head and retired from the cabin,
not being able to eat or drink in the Tu'i Tonga's presence. This was because
Finau traced his ancestry, according to the societal segmentation, back to the Tu'i
Tonga and was thereby related to him.

175 But Finau was not so related to Latunipulu and we are fortunate to have Cook's
634 description of the interaction between them. They simply ignored each other.
644 Cook tells us that Latunipulu was in a canoe under the stern of the *Resolution* and
554 Finau 'was on board at the same time but neither took any notice of the other'
571 (Beaglehole 1967: 111). Here we see that the Tamaha has no general power over

175

unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the Tu'i Tonga through his sister. 634 644

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*).[A] We are at first a bit overwhelmed by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3) points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6] George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427). 571 175 114

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look closely (plate 1*b*),[A] we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima.*[7] In their accounts, the Forsters and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the 'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole 1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or someone of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the Tamaha. 175 304 782 114 [765] 175 114 782 304 755 [612] [604] [103]

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi.* Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example, Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a 'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son, 602 175 765 554

[A] [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst] 612

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
(Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
554 i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
612 were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
[292] ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

612 This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
kāinga. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
602 the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
764 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1c). A
765 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
292 queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8]
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
126 structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
285 most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
[431] one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

175 In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts
of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their
285 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[554] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:
285
513

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

175

169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. 285
However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is [513]
understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies [292]
—the main occasions of ceremonial giving. [765]

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called [431]
mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for 127
workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439). 285

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black pattern' (plate 2*a*).[A] It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.) decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished
if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain [565]
matāpule (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*),[A] is probably one of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought
of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau* [314]
or *teunga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau* were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs sewn on with twisted '*olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer. This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth
century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more [178]
easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of
fau. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, [439]
fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men [175]
as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his [531]

[A] [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

531
127 second voyage Journal. 'They have . . . a curious apron, made of the out side
285 fibres of the Cocoanut shell and composed of a number of small pieces sewed
[175] together in such a manner as to form stars, half Moons, little squars, etc., and studed
with beads of shells and covered with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1961: 272). The
Pitt Rivers example (plate 2c, 66 cm. × 66 cm.)[A] is made of star-shaped elements,
each having a central section and 10 or 11 points. This item was described by George
285 Forster: 'we likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting of many wheels or
175 stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or four inches in diameter, cohering
531 together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and
126 beads cut out of shells' (1777: 1, 454). One element is decorated with a pig tooth
and the thirty-five elements are attached to a waistband that is unravelled at one
175 end. An examination of Forster's account tells us why.

> 285 We accidentally procured a quantity of these feathers at Amsterdam, one of the Friendly
> 126 Isles, where they fastened them on pieces of their stuffs. These being carried to O-Taheitee,
> [435] and shared out in little pieces, procured us a great number of hogs; for a bit of two inches
> square, covered with feathers, would at any time, be eagerly purchased with a hog (1778:
> 207); when we came the second time in 1774, to O-Taheitee after we had been to Tonga
> Tabu, where the natives make various ornaments of red feathers, we procured for them not
> only numbers of hogs, the most valuable article of trade, but likewise mourning dresses,
> which the natives refused to part with before, when Mr Banks was there, and during our first
> stay in their happy isle. The rage after these trifling ornaments was so great, that Potatoa a
> chief, whose magnanimity and noble way of thinking, we never questioned before, wanted
> even to prostitute his own wife, for a parcel of these baubles (1778: 367).

285 These aprons are known in Tongan traditions as *sisi fale*, and were worn only by
127 high chiefs. Parts of at least twenty specimens of *sisi fale* have so far been recorded
[292] in museum collections. The usual elements are stars, rectangles, lozenges, crescents,
and ovals—the elements and their combinations being quite distinctive. An inter-
[531] esting example of secondary use of a Tongan *sisi fale* by Tahitians is that two ele-
ments were used to decorate one of their human images which is now in the
British Museum (TAH. 63). These two elements—now mostly denuded of their
red feathers—are used for a head covering and a loincloth. It is possible that the
element that forms the loincloth of the image is part of the *sisi fale* now in the Pitt
Rivers Museum and perhaps traded to the Tahitians by Forster. Unfortunately, the
British Museum specimen does not have any accession or collection information.
It is interesting to speculate that perhaps Cook collected it himself on his third
voyage. The half of the *sisi fale* in the Pitt Rivers Museum is probably what was
left after Forster shared out two inch squares to the Tahitians, perhaps for the very
Tahitian mourning dress in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Two parts of another *sisi fale* from Cook's voyages exist in Vienna and Florence.
Both of these seem to have come from the sale of the Leverian Museum in London
in 1806, and probably originally came from Cook's third voyage. Another *sisi fale*
that can quite confidently be identified is in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Un-
fortunately, again there is no collection or accession information, but I suspect that
it is the one depicted in Labillardière (1802: 32), and thus collected on d'Entre-
casteaux's voyage in 1793. Only the Pitt Rivers *sisi fale*, however, can be traced
[175] to Cook's second voyage—probably for several reasons: the chiefs interacted with
during the second voyage were not the highest ones; Cook was not present during

[A] [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

127

occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were 285
traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We [175]
must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a
sisi fale in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the
Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their 285
great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the 292
purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered [175]
more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in [535]
Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial [531]
dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the [127]
Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, [643]
which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected [644]
with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the
sisi fale are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, [531]
is said to represent an '*akau ha'amo*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used [482]
by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan 292
manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be 554
worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. [643]
During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23 175
ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and 292
Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). 554
Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure. 292

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with 554
> red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be 643
> highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever 175
> brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a [435]
> person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather [237]
> bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know 175
that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. 292
Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these 127
latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses [643]
were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather
headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

175 more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know
292 that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it
127 came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate 3*a*).[9] A

127 The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the
292 Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445) was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

292 According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake*
643 and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for
Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook.
175 Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good
554 description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after.
643 Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation
292 of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the
[669] tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in
feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several
532 museum specimens. The example depicted (plate 3*b*) is from the Peabody Museum,
292 Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other
[177] ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

292 That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text
533 composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

643	Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē	And raise our hearts on this day
[539]	Tu'u ai e palā tavake	Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account, tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most
[301] Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as
feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the
[178] place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

293 Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the
127 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was
listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged
643 to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A, [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst]

and a companion in the same museum are the only examples of fly whisks made in 293
this manner. The handles are completely incised in zigzag patterns and inset with 127
ivory pieces in the form of men, birds, stars, and crescents (Moschner 1955: 222, 643
224). The carving and ivory inlay are done in the same manner as the incising of [531]
Tongan clubs, but handles of Tongan fly whisks are usually uncarved. Since fly [532]
whisks are only used by chiefs in Tonga, one would suspect that such an elaborate
one would have been the possession of a special chief. The existence of the information
in the Leverian sale catalogue—that it belonged to Paulaho—was the corroborating evidence we needed.

A specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum illustrates the usual early type of fly 293
whisk (plate 4a).[A] It is made with a slightly tapered, polished wood handle and a whisk 127
of coconut fibre, bound by a wrapping of twisted *'olongā* fibre. It is 53 cm. in length
and a small section of the whisk is braided. An almost identical piece exists in the
Forster collection in Göttingen, and there are two similar ones in the British
Museum. The Pitt Rivers example is a good type specimen. It is the usual Tongan
type in early collections, its provenance is given as Tonga in Forster's list, such
whisks still exist in Tonga, and an engraving in Labillardière (1802: plate 33) is
virtually identical. Another whisk of this type, but with a bone handle, exists in [114]
Bern in the Webber collection from the third voyage, but its provenance is given as
Tahiti. It is certainly Tongan, and can now be separated from the Tahitian materials.

The fly whisk, *fue kafa*, was an important symbol of rank in Tonga. It was mani- 293
pulated in a specific manner, called *fuefue*, which took practice and deftness of 559
hand. A Tongan proverb puts it nicely: 'Who is this fellow who wields his *fue* [538]
like a commoner?' This proverb is used today for anyone who is presumptuous
beyond his status. The *fue* is a good example of the reflection of social stratification
in material culture. The Tu'i Tonga was chief of the chiefs. The *fue*, a visual status [643]
symbol that could be used by all chiefs, was differentiated when used by the Tu'i [565]
Tonga in a manner befitting his high rank.

Incising of the designs in wood was done by means of a shark-tooth implement 412
represented in the Pitt Rivers Museum by Forster specimen Number 174, 'shark's 127
tooth set in wood, from the Friendly Isles' (plate 4b[A] (i)). Before Forster's Cata- [237]
logue was found in 1969, this specimen was noted '?Tahiti.' This provenance may
have been derived from comparing it with a similar specimen in the British
Museum that is in the TAH series, but one must remember that the TAH series
reflects the views of a nineteenth century cataloguer and that, for the most part,
the Tongan items were not separated from the Tahitian. Also in reference to this
erroneous British Museum provenance, Duff in his recent catalogue ascribed a [114]
similar tool in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, to Tahiti (Duff 1969: 26).
But I think there can be little doubt that this tool type is Tongan.

We are indebted on this account to Forster for two reasons. Not only does he 412
state clearly that this tool is from Tonga but he also gave its companion tool (plate 175
4b (ii)), a nail set in a handle of bone. This specimen (Forster 101a) he lists as 'An old [177]
nail, brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1643 and preserved by the Natives,
& used as a gouge or borer'. Thus, though one might question his attribution
of the shark-tooth tool to Tonga, one could hardly question the nail attribution.
And this is crucial, for the hafting is virtually identical. Reinold Forster describes [439]
this piece, or a similar one, in his *Observations:* '... when we landed at Tonga-tabu

A. [See End Plate 4, following p. 220--Analyst]

412

175 one of the natives sold a very small nail carefully fastened in a handle of hard wood, [439] and tied to it by strings of coconut-core. This nail was undoubtedly left by Tasman, [127] who was there in 1643, and consequently had been preserved 130 years, and is now lodged amongst other curiosities in the British Museum' (1778: 368). Perhaps there 412 is such an implement in the British Museum with a nail lodged in hard wood; 127 however, they have no record of it. The Pitt Rivers specimen has a handle of [554] bone—a perceived Tongan alternative which probably indicated that its use was restricted to the higher ranks as we have also seen in the bone and wood handles of fly whisks (i.e., Bern and Pitt Rivers specimens). It is certainly possible that there [175] were at least two such hafted nail implements, for Cook discovers on his third voyage, that,

> [177] [439] on my enquireing of Fattafee the King how they came by the Knowledge of iron and a small iron tool I saw here last Voyage, he told me it came from Onnuahtabutabu [Niuatoputapu], and on asking him how the people of that island came by it, he said one of them sold a Club for five Nails to a Ship which came to the island [Wallis in 1767], and that these five Nails after wards came to Tongatabu and were the first they had seen, so that the Iron they got from Captain Tasman must have been worn out and forgot long ago (Beaglehole 1967: 162).

Two implements almost identical to the Forster shark-tooth example exist in Dublin and another in Vienna. The Vienna specimen was noted in the first inventory [289] of the collection as an engraving instrument from Tonga (Moschner 1955: 139), and has a bark cloth padding under the sennit binding—a very Tongan way of 412 hafting, also used for the hafting of adzes. Finally, yet another specimen is engraved in Labillardière (1802: plate 32) with a very good accompanying des- 322 cription:

> we saw several [Tongans] who were employed in carving others [clubs] with shark's teeth fixed into the extremity of a piece of wood. We were astonished to see them quickly notch, with this sort of chisel, *casuarina* wood, notwithstanding its extreme hardness. Others already used with much dexterity some of the iron instruments which we had given them (1802: 147–8).

In this case there is no possibility of confusion with Tahiti, for Labillardière did not go to Tahiti.

714 One specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum (plate 5*a*)A appeared at first to be not 127 Tongan at all and its use was even more mysterious—a large thin plate of whale- 237 bone with the edges curved and having three holes at one edge and labelled Number 62. Before the original Forster catalogue was found, it was labelled New Zealand. The *Catalogue*, however, lists Number 62 as 'a Shield made of Bone, probably [175] of a cetaceous animal', and is designated as Tongan. In George Forster's account of the voyage we find the description and collection information: 'we bought a [439] large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe' (1777: 455). The Pitt Rivers specimen measures 18 inches and an almost indentical specimen exists in the Forster collection in Göttingen. There is also a larger and thinner one in the British Museum (no accession information or provenance). How or when these specimens were used, we are unfortunately 301 not told. One could suggest, however, that this is a large and ostentatious rendering 237 of a shell breast ornament in whale bone, which was a material of high status. The

127 [554] A. [See End Plate 5, following p. 220--Analyst]

Göttingen example has two holes with a coconut-fibre cord linking them. The Pitt Rivers Museum lacks a cord and has three holes. Large pearl shell ornaments also have either two or three holes for suspension. An example of the latter is an archaeological specimen accompanied by a shell bead, found in Tonga on the chest of a skeleton. Such ornaments were also in the Forster collection, where they were listed as part of Number 98: 'three mother of pearl shells which hang on the breast'. These three specimens have not been located—but perhaps one of these or a similar one is depicted by Hodges in his engraving of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate *1a*). A specimen exists in Bishop Museum which is complete, with human hair and an ivory bead, and demonstrates the use of the holes and the bead found in the archaeological context. The archaeological shell breastplate specimen would be nearly 12 inches across if complete, indicating that the whale bone item measuring 18 inches in the Pitt Rivers Museum would not be too extraordinary. 301 237 127 [172] [172]

Tongan necklaces exist in Museum collections in a great variety of materials and styles. The most elaborate example is in Vienna, again from the sale of the Leverian Museum and probably from Cook's third voyage, perhaps even Paulaho's ornament. Fictell seems to have had the right contacts at the London sale, for the Tongan and other specimens he chose were the best of the Leverian collections—and, by extension, the best from Cook's third voyage. The necklace example (Moschner 1955: 208) combines a large pearl shell with a waterworn pebble (often used for decorating graves of chiefs), groups of bird bones, pointed brown shells, cowrie shells, a shell called *pule'otu* (worn only by chiefs), and shell beads. Also in Vienna is the only example of a carved human figure so far traceable to Cook's voyages. Two-and-a-half inches high, with holes for stringing at the back of the pendant, this ivory piece may have been Paulaho's. The only other such item of proven eighteenth century date is a depiction in Labillardière (1802: plate 32). 301 127 [237] [532]

The two specimens in Vienna, again, seem to be the extraordinarily high-ranking types. The more usual types are found in the Pitt Rivers Museum. These consist of long strands of white and dark beads, sometimes in sections, and sometimes alternated, as well as necklaces employing several strands of bird bone. One of the specimens (plate *5b*) has carved ivory pendants in various shapes—cylindrical beads, which have also been found in archaeological contexts; and an object which resembles the head of a missile, which is also found on necklaces in Göttingen and Dublin. An ivory pendant in the form of a bird is found on this Pitt Rivers specimen, and similar birds are in Göttingen, Vienna, and in a drawing from Labillardière (1802: plate 32). 301 127 237

As a final example of the use of depictions and descriptions from Cook's voyages, it should be noted that even the seemingly unlikely subjects of music and dance can be given new insights by the study of these early materials. These descriptions serve to demonstrate both continuity and change. Webber's drawing of the nose-flute player, found in the third voyage account, suggests early morning and depicts the seated posture and manner of holding the nose flute. The nose flute was traditionally used to awaken high chiefs—an honour which was also accorded to Queen Elizabeth of England when she visited Tonga in 1953, and a photograph taken at that time is remarkably similar to Webber's drawing. On the other hand, the bamboo stamping tubes drawn by Webber (plate *6a*), and described by Anderson (Beaglehole 1967: 875), are important because this musical instrument no 534 [175] [554] [513] [533]

A, B. [See End Plates 5 and 6 following p. 220--Analyst]

534 longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections.
(175) Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any
reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

535 A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan
412 dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section
252 of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of breadfruit
with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make breadfruit
paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary
at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used.
The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut
535 fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in
which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third
(175) voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description
(Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance
(643) performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest
(178) ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village
of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line
and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts,
535 the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving
175 (plate 6a)[A] shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic
convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown
with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance
one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most
important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by
Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167).
535 The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal
(178) dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn
by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal
power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village,
who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and
thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The
(181) contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as
(593) sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the placement
(554) of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved
status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all
Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

121 We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made
175 on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material
127 culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost
totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the
associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It
is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from
illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private
collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our under-
121 standing of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of

175 [A] [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

social interaction among Tongans in this early period has been very useful in interpreting 121
both traditions about early Tongan social organisation that no longer 175
exists, and present-day social organisation. A fresh look at the results of Cook's voyages has been most rewarding in this attempt to interpret Tongan material culture in the context of its eighteenth-century social system, and perhaps would be equally rewarding for other island groups visited by Cook.

NOTES

This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the University of Oxford in May 1970. 121
It was associated with a special exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum of the J. R. Forster [127]
collection obtained on Cook's second voyage.

Research on Tongan material culture was carried out in museums in the U.S.A. mainland, 114
Hawaii, Fiji, and Europe from 1967 to 1970 supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for
Anthropological Research. Eighteen months fieldwork in Tonga from 1964 to 1967 was 122
supported by Wenner-Gren and Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5F1-MH-25, 984-02 [101]
from the National Institute of Mental Health. To both of these agencies I wish to express my
appreciation. I wish to thank the many museums that permitted me to study their collections, 114
especially the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, whose collection is the basis of this article, and Peter [127]
Gathercole, at that time Lecturer in Ethnology, University of Oxford, for helpful comments
on the manuscript. I would also like to acknowledge permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum, [128]
Oxford, to publish the photographs in plates 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 taken by Peter Narracott; plate 7, supplied by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; and plate 8, supplied by the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. My thanks are also due to Bruce Erickson of Bishop Museum for the prints in plates 1, 2, 3, and 13—plates 1 and 2 are from the volume of plates from Cook's second voyage, plate 13 is from the volume of plates from Cook's third voyage, and plate 3, is from a kodachrome transparency taken by the author.

[1] Not entirely free, of course, because Le Maire, Tasman, and Wallis had traded also. In fact, 000
the Forsters collected a nail that tradition said came from a European, and which was hafted in Tongan style and used as a gouge—now in Pitt Rivers Museum.

[2] See Whitehead 1969 for similar difficulties in trying to trace zoological specimens from Cook's voyages, and he was not trying to identify his specimens by voyage.

[3] Cleveley was a draughtsman who sailed on the *Adventure*, but left the Cook expedition to go to Iceland with Banks. It is likely that these objects were given to Banks after the second voyage and depicted by his artist, Cleveley, especially as it is thought that Banks gave the volume of prints in which it appears to the British Museum. The volume is noted: 'It is not known how or when these volumes came to the Print Room but probably with some others bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks and placed there in 1832 and transferred to the Dept. of M.S. in 1845'. Perhaps the baskets were given to the Department of Ethnography at the same time. The date 1774 is a mystery. It cannot refer to the date of the drawing because the Cook expedition did not return to England until 1775. It may refer to the date of collection, because the expedition was in Tonga in 1774.

[4] The Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum also has other volumes of drawings which are very useful for identifying objects from Cook's voyage.

[5] For a comprehensive study of Tongan material culture see Kaeppler (in preparation).

[6] Smith is probably correct, for in a preliminary study for this engraving, now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (NPL:M (PXD59-¹)), the figures in the boat are drawn by one artist (Hodges?) while the figures on shore are not only drawn by another artist (Cipriani?), but the paper on which they are sketched is pasted over the Hodges part of the sketch.

[7] It is interesting to note that the Mitchell Library sketch referred to in note 6 is done showing all the fingers on the hands—and it was probably Hodges who instructed the engraver to remove the fingers from the final version.

[8] The outstanding Tongan collections from the third voyage are the Webber collection in [127]
Bern, Switzerland, and the collection in Vienna, Austria, purchased at the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806.

[9] See also Moschner 1967; colour plate 5, for a photograph of the other side of the headdress.

[10] It is reproduced in Beaglehole 1967: plate 17, following p. 144, and in Rienits & Rienits 1968: 136.

[11] For a discussion of continuity and change in Tongan dance and social organisation, see Kaeppler 1967, and 1970.

[12] The movement is written in Labanotation in Kaeppler 1967: 515.

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

● 175
304 Plate 1*a*. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 Plate 1*b*. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 Plate 1*c*. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 Plate 2*a*. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 Plate 2*b*. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 Plate 2*c*. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 Plate 3*a*. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 Plate 3*b*. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 Plate 4*a*. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 Plate 4*b*. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 Plate 5*a*. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 Plate 5*b*. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 Plate 6*a*. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 Plate 6*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
Plate 7*a*. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
Plate 7*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
Plate 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

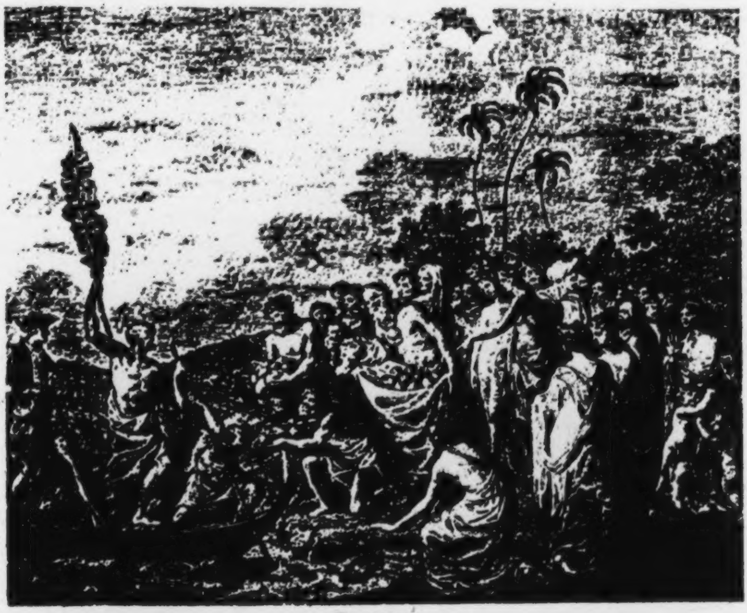

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PLATE 1a.

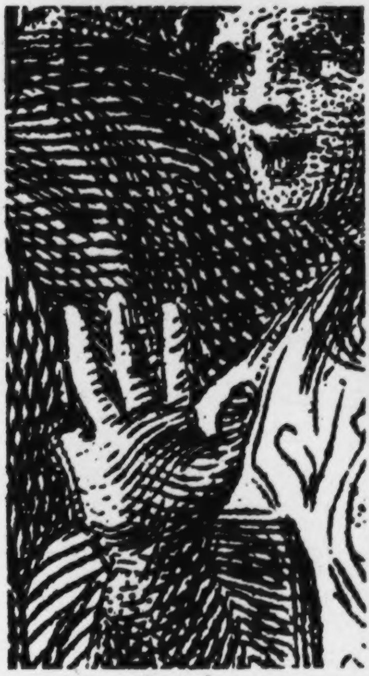

PLATE 1b.

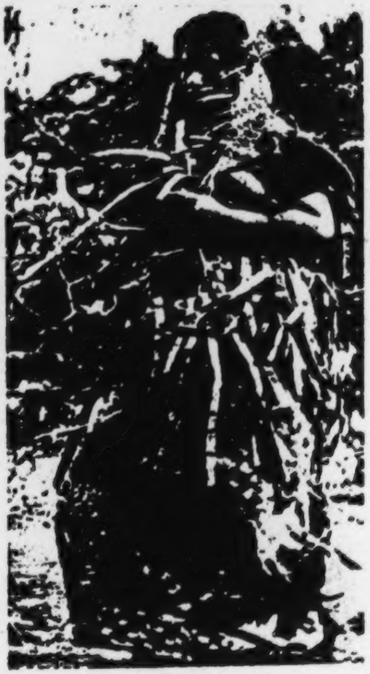

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PLATE 1c.

[End Plate 1]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

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PLATE 6a.

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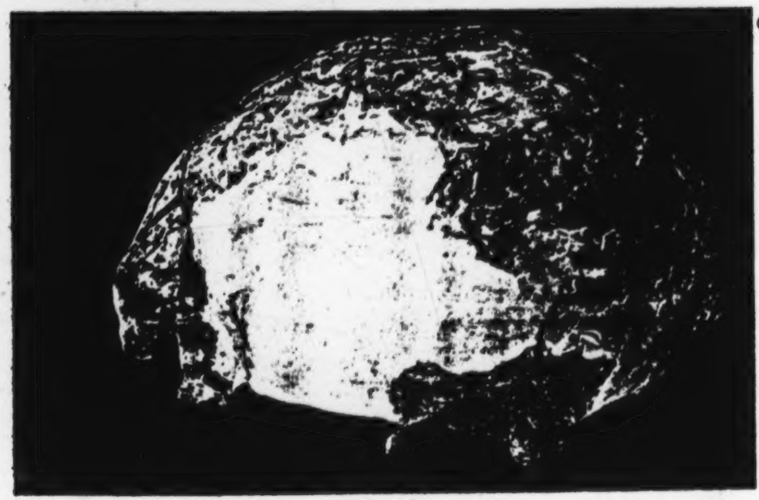

PLATE 6b.

[End Plate 6]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

EARLY 19th CENTURY MISSIONARIES IN TONGA

ABORIGINAL TONGA

Research on Polynesian ethnography, and more specifically, "things 642
Tongan" since 1969, leads me to conclude that traditional Tongan society
was based on kinship, and politics in Tonga was literally "kinship writ [181]
large". As Tongan society increased in size the number of leaders in [178]
society increased. Aboriginal Tongan society was divided into various
ha'a 'corporate land-holding and property-sharing descent groups,' and 613
every single Tongan was able to trace his or her *ha'a* affiliation for various
obligatory reasons in the life cycle (such as marriages, funerals, and wars).

When a Tongan chief dispatched an individual to look after a specific 602
area of land, the individual sent was a kinsman. Consider the following 613
from a Wesleyan missionary who resided in Tonga for over 25 years, from 631
1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859:

> It may be noticed that all the principal offices of the government, were filled by members of the Hau Family as *Governors* of Islands at a distance as well as those near at hand, *Chiefs* of *Districts*, and heads of Towns and villages, they were the relations and the professed friends of the King, whom they appeared to wish to live to serve, and to know.(8)

Another Wesleyan missionary, Peter Turner, provides corroborating evidence in a journal entry: "The King has sent his eldest son to be the head ruler here [at Vava'u] and may be called a king under him."(9)

The Tongan system of apportioning out relatives, with appropriate titles, to rule over certain portions of land unified the "mud and blood" of the *ha'a*.(10)

The first leader of all of the Tongans was the Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of 643
Tonga'. The Tu'i Tonga, as lineal descendant of the gods, was the embodiment of the sacred and secular in aboriginal Tongan life and the leader
of all Tongans. In approximately the 15th century, a division was made 175
between the sacred and secular operations of organising society, and a
Tu'i Tonga delegated his secular responsibilities to a brother and the title 643
of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was created. A manuscript account related how the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua: " . . . appointed Maugamotu Tui Haatakalaua, and he was able to reside at Fonuamotu as he was to be protector of the Tuitongas (as the Tuitongas were apt to be assassinated), and the Tuitonga was safe because his younger brother kept guard over him."(11)

In approximately the 17th century a Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua delegated some of his secular authority and responsibility to a son, and the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu was created. The individual known as Ngata became the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, and he received "royal estates at the West end
of Tonga [tapu] called Hihifo."(12) When Anderson, who was with Cook 634
in 1777, visited Tongatapu he wrote of the fact that Tongatapu Island was [175]
"divided into many districts" and one of these was "Hee'heefo".(13) When [643]

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8. Thomas n.d. MS:5.
9. Turner, P. n.d.: entry for Aug. 24, 1851.
10. Silverman 1971:72.
11. Collocott n.d. vol. II:21.
12. Thomas n.d. MS.:1.
13. Beaglehole 1967:951.

634 the first of the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in 1822, this district was still intact, and Lawry recommended to London that: "The next District Proper for a Mission Station is that of Heefo."(14)

When the first Tu'i Tonga divided his lands among his kinsmen, his
565 kinsmen established their own *ha'a* and received their own titles indicative
554 of their leadership.(15) It was the title of an individual that was passed on
[613] to another leader when the first titled individual was no longer capable of
performing his or her duties. The title could pass to a son of the previous holder, or it could be passed to a brother. The title could go to the son of a sister or an adopted son. In aboriginal Tongan society, succession to title (and chieftainship) depended on a variety of factors, especially the decision of the corporate group. Any individual who had a position of authority and power in aboriginal Tongan society and held a particular title as evidence of rank *did not have* that particular title because of any inherent rights to the title. The individual held the title and any authority vested in the title only because he or she had the consensus of the governed group. The title-holder operated within a system that had checks and balances. Such balances, along with consensus and flexibility, ensured that the governed were willing to be influenced and led by the governing individuals.

643 The three titles of Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu (along with the titled individual known as the Tamahā) thus represented
554 the core of aboriginal Tongan society. All other titled and non-titled
[613] individuals were ranked against these major title-holders, and it is from these first three titles that all of the 'corporate land-holding and property-sharing descent groups' developed.

177 With the arrival of Europeans in the 17th century, aboriginal Tongan society began to change. When the various missionaries arrived in the
175 archipelago they were perceptive enough to realise the ranking system involved. Lawry reported in 1823: " . . . the following is the order in
643 which the present Chiefs of the Friendly Islands rank, viz:

554 1. Tooitonga [Tu'i Tonga]

2. Tooihatacalowa [Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua]

3. Tooicanacabooloo [Tu'i Kanokupolu]."(16)

[644] The rank and status of the fourth individual mentioned earlier, the Tamahā, are revealed in the account of another Wesleyan missionary: "Formerly there were three ranks of nobles in Tonga to which the term *Eiki* or Lord

14. Lawry n.d.: entry for Apr. 28, 1823.
15. Although accurate and varifiable information pertaining to the first Tu'i Tonga, the legendary 'Aho'eitu (c. A.D 950.), is lacking, the procedures cited above (see note 11) in reference to the Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua, leads one to believe that similar procedures took place for the first (and subsequent) Tu'i Tonga. Although note 11 cites Collocott, the statement was (ostensibly) made by the last Tamahā [644] Amelia in 1844. The Tamahā, an extremely high-ranking individual, was "the highest earthly dignitary" in Tongan society (Gifford 1929:19). For additional specifics about changes in the status and ranking systems, see Urbanowicz (1975); for specifics about adoption and rank see Urbanowicz (1973:114).
16. Lawry n.d.: entry for Sept. 13, 1823.

applied, of these the Tuitonga stood first, then the Tamaha, and next the 175 Hau or civil ruler."(17)

The difference in the rankings given by Lawry and Thomas is because 643 there were Tamahā before there were the civil rulers known as the Tu'i 554 Ha'a Takalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu. 644

The rank and status associated with the individual known as the Tamahā were indeed very high, contrary to what Kaeppler has to say based 644 on 20th century projections as to how aboriginal Tonga functioned.(18) The French navigator Dumont d'Urville was astute in his observations of Tongan life, and observing the Tamahā in 1827 he wrote: " . . . all the 644 people of Tonga, without exception, even the touï-tonga and the touï- 576 Kana-Kabolo themselves, had to accord the homage of *moe-moe*, which she was not obliged to honour anyone in this way."(19)

The *moemoe'i* was the indication of respect that an inferior had to show to a superior. The Wesleyan missionary Webb was quite correct when he 644 wrote that "the Tamahā is the greatest personage in the whole group of islands".(20) Where the Tu'i Tonga was the representative of the gods, the [643] Tamahā was virtually viewed as a god on earth.

Aboriginal Tongans developed a system of rank (based on kinship ties) [776] and status (based on achievements) which made Tongan society an integrated whole. Tonga was a rank-conscious society, with rank being 554 "relative" to those individuals gathered for a specific occasion. The model of Tongan society was that of a stratified one and, as such, redistribution systems developed (as in other parts of Polynesia) with the ranking individuals being the focal points of the system. In Tonga, this was the [643] Tu'i Tonga 'sovereign of Tonga'.

With the introduction of various Western material goods into the 177 stratified society, some individual Tongan chiefs soon sought to consolidate and improve their positions of "authority" in the islands. With the [661] introduction of Western technological devices, particularly metal tools, which are obviously a labour-saving device, Tongans inevitably had more free time on their hands as European contact increased. Perhaps it was [669] such free time, along with the eventual concentration of European weapons in the hands of a few individuals, which eventually contributed to the increased amounts of Tongan warfare in the 19th century. The role played [648] by material goods in the process of 19th century colonisation was an extremely important one, and Shineberg's comments in reference to 177 Melanesian society are perfectly applicable for Tongan society.

> The entry of European goods was the thin edge of the wedge into 171 their society. It was not long before the new things became necessities instead of luxuries, and the people [became] dependent upon a supply of western axes, muskets, and tobacco. It is well to remain aware, however, that the impetus for change came as much from within traditional society as without it.(21)

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17. Thomas n.d. MS:1.
18. Kaeppler 1971:183.
19. Dumont-D'Urville n.d.:27.
20. Webb 1843: entry for Mar. 1, 1843.
21. Shineberg 1966:146.

Western framework. Scarr has pointed out that Tongans were advised in 642
the 19th century that, if Tonga wanted to avoid being taken over by
foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the accoutrements of 177
Western civilisation. This "Westernisation" was epitomised by the written Constitution and codified laws.[27]

With the change to a Constitutional Monarchy in 1875 a basic and important difference was rigidly introduced into the total fabric of Tongan life. Much of the aboriginal system of consensus and flexibility was done away with at that time. The Constitutional Monarchy may not have been created solely with the aim to restructure the patterns of aboriginal Tongan social organisation, but it certainly represented the 19th century culmination of the restructuring process which began with the first Christian colonisation of the islands in 1797.[28]

THE BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN CONTACT

Part of the Tongan archipelago had been contacted by the Dutch 177
navigators Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with
other Europeans eventually followed: Tasman (1643), Wallis (1767), Cook 175
(1773, 1774, 1777), Maurelle (1781), La Perouse (1787), Bligh (1789, 1792), Edwards (1791), D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere (1793), and Malaspina (1793). These contacts, which lasted from a few days to a few weeks, made Tongans quite aware of Europeans (and European technological devices)
and also placed Tonga on Europe's map of the world. The publications 177
of the men associated with the expeditions spurred Europeans to send men
and materials to proselytise the peoples of the Pacific. In 1797 Tonga was 175
chosen, along with Tahiti, to receive European missionaries. As Oliver has accurately pointed out, one cannot study Pacific events without placing the events into the context of other activities on the planet.[29] In the late 18th century the great "Evangelical Revival" swept the European continent, and the peoples of the Pacific began to change because of it!

The first missionaries to land on Tongatapu Island were of the Missionary Society of London (formed in 1795 and later termed the London Missionary Society or LMS). The LMS vessel *Duff* reached Tonga on April 10, 1797, after first leaving missionaries at Tahiti.[30]

Some of the missionaries remained on Tonga until 1800, but the attempt at religious conversion ended in a debacle. One missionary left the island shortly after he arrived while one (George Vason) married a Tongan woman and accepted the "Tongan way of life". Three missionaries were killed during a battle on Tongatapu in June 1799, and the remaining five huddled together for safety until they were removed in 1800.

The various reasons for the failure of this 1797–1800 LMS attempt in Tonga are many, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate any one single factor. Certainly one cannot place the total blame of the LMS

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[27] Scarr 1968:86.

[28] "Restructuring: is used after Brookfield (1972:1) who writes of "Colonialism" as the "thoroughgoing, comprehensive and deliberate penetration" of an area by individuals "who aim to restructure the patterns of organization".

[29] Oliver 1962:98.

[30] Wilson 1799:96; Benson 1960:113.

797 failure on the Tongans, as some seem to suggest. Wood wrote of the Tongans of this period and of their "lawlessness and fiendish cruelty", 175 and Lâtûkefu wrote of the LMS venture that: "This well-meaning effort was doomed to fail right from the beginning, for the missionaries were ill-equipped for this tremendous task, and the Tongans themselves were not ready for the new religion".(31)

To state that the missionaries were ill-equipped is only partially correct; to state that the Tongans "were not ready" tells us very little. Perhaps a better interpretation would also point out that the new religion bringers were not ready for the Tongans! The subsequent successes of the Wesleyans would seem to prove this point.

THE WESLEYAN MISSION

797 The problem that faced the Wesleyans was simple: how to convert the Tongans. The motive of the Wesleyan missionaries was conversion, but, viewed against a larger background, the Wesleyans also wished to succeed where the LMS had failed. The solution to the problem of Christian colonialism in Tonga included (1) better-trained missionaries and (2) increased supplies of western technological devices.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society began their colonial venture in Tonga in 1822 with the mission group led by Walter Lawry. Lawry and his wife and servants were in Tonga from August of 1822 until October of 1823, when he was ordered by his London Committee to be 797 "removed from Tonga to Van Dieman's Land".(32) Although his stay was short, and his attempt at converting Tongans a failure, Lawry was an 177 extremely important individual in setting the pattern for subsequent 19th century Wesleyan work in the islands. Lawry understood the necessity for a constant supply line back to Sydney for material goods for the mission. The Wesleyans of the 19th century realised that material goods diffused much more rapidly than philosophical or ideological systems. In 1823 Lawry acknowledged the importance of material goods for the success of the missionaries:

> . . . inasmuch as the only importance attached to the character of the Missionaries is derived from their being annually visited by their relations (as the natives term it) and replenished with such property as most effectively secures the natives in our favour. And we are all most decidedly of the opinion that had this measure been adopted by the directors of the [LMS] Mission begun here 25 years ago, it would have prevented its ultimate failure.(33)

The Tongans of the 19th century, to be sure, had their own motives for [649] interacting with the Wesleyans. As Lâtûkefu has pointed out concerning Taufa'ahau, later known as King George Tupou I: "It appears, however, that Taufa'ahau's initial acceptance of [Wesleyan] Christianity was only part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth,

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31. Wood 1932:29; Lâtûkefu 1974:25.
32. Lawry n.d.: entry for July 25, 1823.
33. Lawry n.d.: Entry for Aug. 10, 1823.

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(1770-1820)

A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA: SOME NEW VIEWS*

[Pre-1616]

Introduction.

In this paper we wish to supply a survey of the history of the Tonga Islands. We shall concentrate mainly on the period 1770-1820. Of the times previous to this period there is but little known, whereas the period after 1820 is described extensively in various writings (Farmer, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford). Therefore these parts of Tongan history will be dealt with very briefly. The time between the two dates mentioned above, however, is a confused period, in which a whole series of authorities were involved in a great number of political complications. To our mind the existing studies on this period contain various vague and contradictory notions. We believe that some of these are dealt with conclusively in this paper. 121 175

1. *The period previous to the coming of the Europeans (up to 1616).*

A great part of the history of the Tonga Islands is wrapped in mystery. Oral traditions, lists of names and a few monuments are the chief data one has to work on. For a few years now archaeologists have supplied us with a basis a little more reliable for this research into the past. Thus, according to Suggs (p. 87 ff.), we can take it that a short time before the beginning of our era these islands were inhabited. The same goes for the nearby Samoa Islands, and Suggs points out the fact that the development of these areas runs parallel to a great extent. We are to picture these earliest inhabitants as people living together in small groups, cultivating land in a simple way for horticultural purposes and using some earthenware (ib. p. 93). Not before the eleventh century, however, are there structures of some size to be found on Tongatapu. They consist chiefly of tombs. These have been explored and described extensively by Mc Kern. His opinion 174 172 [173]

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* The translation was made by Mr. F. L. van den Berg.

[p. 505]

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[ca. 1470 – 1643]

is referred to as the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. According to tradition the 174
reason for this change in the system of government was the violent 643
deaths of several *Tui Tonga*. In this way the ruler hoped from now on 178
to keep out of harm's way (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Collocott 1924, p. 177; [173]
Gifford, p. 48). This was indeed the case, but in the long run the *Tui Tonga* himself was to lose much of his power and influence.

In the 17th century we find another alteration in the government of the country. The *Tui Haa Takalaua* then reigning, called Moungatonga, appointed his son his deputy. In fact the latter now became the *Hau*. Usually he is referred to as *Tui Kanokupolu* — a title which really refers to his position as head of a distinguished family. Here, too, the father preferred a life of esteem and luxury, but without direct power (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Thomson 1894, p. 309 ff.; Collocott 1924, p. 180; Gifford, p. 87). A short time after this, with the coming [175]
of Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, the historical era begins.

2. *From the first visitors to the civil wars (1616-1793).*

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It is no simple matter to relate the visits of certain Dutchmen to certain rulers. Thomson (1894, p. 310) regards the first *Tui Kanokupolu* as a contemporary of Le Maire and Schouten, and there are no reasons to disbelieve this. These Dutchmen do not supply any data concerning this point, as they visited only a few islands in the extreme North of the Tonga group (Sharp, p. 73). Tasman, who arrived at Tongatapu in 1643, offers some more data. As the name of the "Coninck off overste" (king or captain) whom he met there he gives Latouw or Aisij (Tasman, p. 75). We also find the name of Latou in Le Maire (p. 58), while Cook (1803, V, p. 391) and Georg Forster (p. 256) also mention the names Latoo or Latu. We assume that this must be the title of *Tui*. From Tasman's information we get the impression that he met a very distinguished chief, but whether this was the *Tui Tonga* or one of the other top officials cannot be ascertained (cf. Tasman, p. 60 ff.). Tasman brought a number of drawings back from his visit — at least his journal contains a number of prints of Tongatapu. The value of such 17th century pictures, from an ethnological point of view, is rather small (Pott, pass.). Basing himself on traditions, Gifford [114]
places this visit in the reign of the 31st *Tui Tonga*. Thomson, on the other hand, believes that it was the 28th *Tui Tonga* who received the Dutchmen hospitably (Thomson 1894, p. 311). A conclusive answer to this problem is impossible for us.

[1773-1777]

175 177 643 648 Not until Cook's visits do we tread on firm ground. When this traveller landed in 1773, he made the acquaintance of several important people. An aged, distinguished islander dined with the English company and appropriated all sorts of presents which Cook had his men hand out (Cook 1803, V, p. 87 ff.). Wilson (p. xlviii) calls this greedy man "Toobou". This was probably Tupoulahi, the 7th *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 87). Another person, even higher in rank, then made an appearance. Cook gives his name as: Kohagee Too Fallangou (1803, V, p. 95). According to Thomson (1894, p. 313) this was Latelibulu, described further by Gifford (p. 83) as the *Tui Lakepa Latunipulu*, a relative of the *Tui Tonga*, who was highly esteemed.

Shortly after this first occasion, in 1777, Cook paid another visit to the Tonga Islands. He now landed on Nomuka, one of the islands south of the Haapai Group (Cook 1803, IX, p. 97 ff.). He was ex- [634] tended a hospitable welcome, and Finau Ulukalala I invited him to go with him to the Haapai Islands, where he apparently reigned.[4] On Lifuka Cook was given a grand reception. They exchanged presents and all kinds of festivities were organized. The way in which Finau was honoured convinced Cook that this man was the king of all the Tonga Islands. However, when the *Tui Tonga* himself, Paulaho, came to the Haapai Islands, Finau after all proved to be of a lower rank (Cook 1803, IX, p. 162 ff.). Invited by Paulaho, Cook now also went to Tongatapu. Here he found that besides the *Tui Tonga* there were other important people on the island. Most important of these was the aged Maeliuaki (called Mariwagi by Cook), the *Tui Haa Takalaua*, who since the decease of Tupoulahi had also held the office of *Tui Kanokupolu*. During this stay Cook also made the acquaintance of the 12-year-old son of Paulaho (cf. Walther, p. 83 ff.). This lad was paid royal honour by Maeliuaki and his brother "Tubou" (Cook 1803, IX, p. 181). This brother was later to reign under the name of Mumui as the 13th *Tui Kanokupolu*. Tubou was a [551] sort of family name (Gifford, p. 88; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95). 175 177 643 648 609 About this period Thomson remarks that Cook was treated anything but politely by the Tongans (1894, p. 314 ff.). The leaders allowed their people to rob him and they were not at all grateful for the many presents that Cook gave them. Moreover there seems to have been a plan to attack the Englishmen and rob them of their possessions. This

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[4] There have been several bearers of the name Finau. We shall distinguish between them by using the indications I to IV inclusive. See further note 10.

[1777-1793] 175

plan was not carried out, however (Dumont d'Urville 1842, IV, p. 374; 177
Farmer, p. 55; Thomson 1894, p. 315). Of course, one may wonder 648
how this plan became known to later visitors.[A] [643]

It has been proved that there were still contacts between Tonga [609]
and Samoa in this time, while the Fiji Islands were also included in these contacts (Cook 1803, IX, p. 307). The data give us a strong impression that this last group came within reach of the Tongans only shortly before this time.[5] Various authors state that a loosening of the Tongan morals was due to these contacts with the Fiji Islanders. According to the anonymous "Geschichte der christlichen Missionen..." (p. 50 ff.) the Tongans greatly admired the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands. They followed their example as much as possible, which was noticeable especially from their increasing fighting spirit.[6]

Although the increasing coarsening of the Tongans may partly be ascribed to this, it would appear to us that other influences also played a part here. We may point to the white visitors, whose very presence disturbed the aboriginal pattern of life. The presents they so freely handed out, the use of firearms, the strife among the various leaders to appropriate for themselves the favour of the foreigners, all these
are breaches in an existing order. Another thing we must point to is 175
a struggle for power which had been smouldering below the surface 668
for some time and came out into the open at this very time: the 578
struggle between the representatives of the central authority and the rulers of the outer territories. This crisis was intensified further by the tensions between the various authorities on Tongatapu itself.

When Dentrecasteaux and Labillardière visited the Tonga Islands 175
in March 1793 everything was still seemingly quiet. What did strike 571
them was the curious relation between the members of the Tubou 578
family (the relatives of the *Tui Kanokupolu*) and the Fatafehi family (the relatives of the *Tui Tonga*). Labillardière (II, p. 170 ff.) describes, for instance, how a son of Paulaho (the later *Tui Tonga* Fuanunuiava) received presents from the Frenchmen and how a short time later a son of Tubou (Tukuaho, son of Mumui, the *Tui Kanokupolu*) appeared on the scene, took the presents from him and even searched the future

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[5] Several remarks in the literature point to the recent discovery of this group of islands: Cook 1803, IX, p. 308 ff.; Labillardière II, p. 165 ff.; Mariner, p. 276 ff., 333, 495, 511 ff.; Lockerby, p. xvi ff.; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 111, 206; Lawry 1850, p. 253 ff.

[6] Sarah Farmer, p. 65, finds a great coarsening of the Tongans after 1792, but does not account for it. Thomson 1894, p. 318, thinks influence from Fiji the cause of the increasing licentiousness and bellicosity. [181]

A, [It was William Mariner who found out about the plot to attack and rob Cook. See sources 2: Mariner and 3: Mariner, this file--Analyst]

[1791-1793]

175 571 578 *Tui Tonga.* Dentrecasteaux (I, p. 306 ff.) gives a similar version of what happened.

3. *The prelude to the civil wars (1793-1799).*

175 578 643 It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of what happened in this
period from the mass of confused and contradictory reports. Troubles
already began with Paulaho's death. According to Malaspina, who
visited the Vavau Islands in May 1793, the king had been killed in
a battle with the chief Vuna, who claimed authority over Vavau.[7]
[634] After this battle Vuna became lord of the Vavau group and his son
was invested with the chieftainship of the Haapai Islands (Malaspina,
p. 242). The widow of Paulaho for the time being remained on Tongatapu.
[114] Thomson (1894, p. 321) believes the king to have died in 1784.
He does not explain why he believes this. Gifford (p. 88) takes this
for granted. However, in Bligh (p. 106), who called at Nomuka in
1789, we find the information that he heard from the inhabitants that
Paulaho, Finau and Tubou were still alive. Now the names Finau and
Tubou are applicable to more than one person, but Paulaho is not.
In that case he cannot have died in 1784. Dumont d'Urville goes even
further. He thinks it highly probable, on the evidence of information
from captain Edwards of the "Pandora", that Paulaho was still alive
in 1791 (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 183; 1846, II, p. 53).[8] If we
accept this, it would cause quite a shift in the views, sometimes rather
speculative, which we find in Gifford. The picture of Tongan history
175 578 643 644 does become clearer, however, if we do. If we place the death of
Paulaho in 1791 or 1792 it would lead to a sequence in which this
death just precedes a number of occasions on which Paulaho's widow,
Tubou Moheofo, plays a leading part. If we accept Gifford's date of
his death, we would have to find an explanation for the curious fact
that not until eight years after the death of her husband did she play
a role, however short, in Tongan politics. It appears, namely, that
Tubou Moheofo made an effort to acquire the office of *Tui Kanokupolu*

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[634] [7] These claims are based on the fact that an earlier *Tui Kanokupolu* gave the rule of the Vavau Islands to Vuna's family. Paulaho, however, appointed a certain Tui Tuiohu, the father of Finau I and II, chief of these islands (Gifford, p. 139). Cf. note 10.
Malaspina (p. 251) met a Finau Ulukalala on Vavau. This was probably Finau II, who was preparing the recapture of power.

[114] [8] Wilson, p. lix, also reproduces this information from Edwards. Despite much trouble we have not been able to trace Edwards' book.

[1792]

in 1792 (Gifford, p. 86). We do not know whether she claimed this 175
for herself. She based her claims on the fact that she was a descendant 578
of the Tubou family. Her father was Maeliuaki (Cook 1803, IX, 643
p. 182). Her brother Mulikihaamea, who was *Tui Kanokupolu* until 644
that time, gave up his post and became *Tui Haa Takalaua.*[9] Tubou Moheofo's ambitions were frustrated by her cousin Tukuaho, who was in fact the strong man in the Tubou group, even though his father Mumui was still alive. He ousted the widow and her son Fuanunuiava from Tongatapu to the nearby island of Eua, where they remained for a short time. After this they went to the Vavau Islands where Malaspina met Tubou Moheofo, living near the tomb of Paulaho. He does not mention her son, however (p. 244 ff.). The defeat decreased the prestige of the royal family considerably (Wilson, p. liii, 104). Thomson (1894, p. 321) is of the opinion that the quarrel is over some estates. This motive may indeed have played a part, the *Tui*
Kanokupolu being at the same time chief of the district of Nukualofa [634]
and owning extensive estates there (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, [423]
p. 227; Farmer, p. 90, map). After his victory Tukuaho caused his father Mumui, Maeliuaki's brother, to be appointed *Tui Kanokupolu.*

This struggle was over when Labillardière and Dentrecasteaux visited Tongatapu. They mention the old Tubou as the temporal ruler of the island and they know that Paulaho had been succeeded by his brother — Maulupekotofa (cf. Gifford, p. 58; Collocott 1924, p. 166).

> Judging from information from Labillardière (II, p. 163) this brother died soon after coming into office and the rule passed into the hands of his sister Tine, the *Tui Tonga Fefine*, as Paulaho's son was said to have been too young to reign. However, Tine did not succeed in keeping this power, for when the two Frenchmen arrived it already lay with the old Tubou (i.e. Mumui).
>
> Probably we must explain this as follows: Labillardière did not quite understand these complicated affairs and that is why he tried to construe a picture of his own that fitted the situation. The death he mentions was Paulaho's. Labillardière did not meet the latter's brother who succeeded to the throne, nor, indeed, Paulaho's widow. An echo of her experiences is to be found in the Frenchman's remark about Tine "...who had not been able to retain the power..." (cf. Dentrecasteaux, I, p. 304).

A curious fact is that during their visit the Frenchmen saw neither 175
the *Tui Tonga* nor the *Tui Haa Takalaua.* The missionaries of the 643
"Duff" were luckier in this respect, for they met Mulikihaamea, the [797]

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[9] Gifford, p. 88, puts Tui Halafatai and Tubou Lahisii between Maeliuaki and Mulikihaamea in his list of *Tui Kanokupolu.* Cf. Gifford, p. 86, where he says that Mulikihaamea was *Tui Haa Takalaua* as well as *Tui Kanokupolu* but not at the same time.

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(1770-1820)

[1792-1806]

175 *Tui Haa Takalaua.* In their writings he is mentioned as Mulicemar
643 (Wilson, p. 231, 248; Farmer, p. 83, 87). Furthermore the missionaries
797 met the son of Paulaho. They mention him with his family name of
[551] Fatafehi, but he was in fact Fuanunuiava, the future *Tui Tonga*
(Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 184; 1846, II, p. 54).

4. *The civil wars (1799-1820).*

175
669 During the reign of *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa (1792-1806) civil
war broke out. In this conflict Tukuaho, who succeeded his father in
643 1797, represented what we might call the government party (for his
634 succession, see Wilson, p. 240, 249). There was a great rivalry between him and Finau Ulukalala II, chief of the Vavau Islands.[10] The crisis came to a head in 1799. On the occasion of a religious ceremony
[682] the island lords gathered on Tongatapu, and Finau's ally Tubou Niua of Vavau killed Tukuaho (Mariner, p. 90; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 187 ff.; Lawry 1851, p. 66; Farmer, p. 97 ff.; Geschichte der christlichen Missionen, p. 62). A great confusion arose. The *Tui Tonga* sided with Finau (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 191) and the *Tui Haa Takalaua* also supported him, so that on the face of it it is
175 somewhat difficult to accuse Finau of rebellious acts. However, when
669 we take into account that the temporal power formally rested with the *Tui Kanokupolu*, it is evident that the murder of this official meant

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114
634 [10] Gifford, p. 139, discusses the position of the Ulukalala family extensively. He is of the opinion that they were hereditary rulers of the Vavau Islands. This is not quite correct, as appears from note 7. Finau I, who is described by Cook, was possibly a brother of Finau II, the patron of Mariner. See for this Wilson, p. 254; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 183; Farmer, p. 80; Geschichte der chr. M., p. 54; Thomson 1894, p. 321. About the date of Finau I's death opinions differ. The "Duff" missionaries at any rate witnessed the death of a Finau Ulukalala in 1797 — who they thought was the Finau mentioned by Cook.

How the reign in the Vavau Islands can be squared with the influence of Finau I on the Haapai group, as we can read in Cook (1803, IX, p. 103), is not clear. Cf. Walther, p. 76; Zimmermann, p. 18 ff. According to Gifford, p. 135, a certain Matauvave is the ruler here, possibly the son of Vuna.

Dumont d'Urville 1846, II, p. 56, mentions Finau II as lord of the Haapai Islands. This is corroborated by West, p. 55. These assertions probably go back to Mariner, who ascribes the rule of these islands to his lord. He
114 points to the war which Finau II had to wage to subject the Vavau Islands.
634 However, it appears, also in Mariner, that the power over the Haapai group had first to be captured by Finau II (Mariner, p. 87).
669 The struggle between the Vuna family and Finau II may possibly offer an explanation for the tensions between Finau and Tukuaho, for Vuna was the candidate of the *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 139). (Cf. Note 7).

[1799-1812]

rebellion against the lawful authority (cf. Collocott 1928, p. 90). 175
Fighting broke out between the followers of the *Tui Kanokupolu* and 669
Finau's party. At first the latter scored a few successes, but after the
death in battle of Mulikihaamea this changed (Thomson 1894, p. 325 ff.; Farmer, p. 104). His merciless conduct had many ill effects, and in the end Finau was obliged to withdraw to the Haapai Islands. From here he continued regularly making raids on the main island.

The Protestant missionaries of the "Duff", who were in a dangerous [797]
position on account of this war, tried to leave the island. They found an opportunity to do so when an English ship called at Tongatapu in 1800 (Farmer, p. 114).

First the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* was held for a short period by 643
Maafuolimuola, then in 1800 Tubou Malohi, a brother of the murdered Tukuaho, came into office. With a break of a few years, which he spent in the Fiji Islands, he retained this office until 1812 (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Lawry 1850, p. 67; Farmer, p. 123; Thomson 1894, p. 333; Gifford, p. 86). However, a new *Tui Haa Takalaua* was not appointed.

Another brother of Tukuaho, Tubou Toa, joined Finau and — with his know- 643
ledge and cooperation — revenged his brother's death by killing Tubou Niua 634
(Mariner, p. 137). After this Tubou Toa was appointed chief of the Haapai
Islands (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Mariner, p. 219). Finau would rule the Vavau 669
Islands himself. However, a rebellion broke out against him here, as he was suspected of having had a hand in the death of Tubou Niua, who was popular on those islands. With difficulty Finau at last managed to subdue the islands
(Mariner, p. 178 ff.). All this did not prevent him, however, from raiding [177]
Tongatapu a few times, in which guns looted in surprise attacks on ships played [713]
an important part.[11]

On Tongatapu the leading figure in these years was Tarkai, who 669
ruled in the district of Bea (Thomson 1894, p. 333). At first he had 634
supported Finau, but now he worked for himself (Mariner, p. 119 ff.). Elisabeth Morey, who was on Tongatapu from 1802-1804 as a prisoner, mentions "Ducava" as the most important chief (Morey, p. 187). This may have been Tahofa, Tarkai's brother (cf. Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95 ff.).

In 1806 the *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa died on the Vavau Islands 643
and he was succeeded by Fuanunuiava. The latter was strongly influenced by Finau. He even married one of his daughters (Mariner, p. 132).

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[11] Thomson 1894, p. 333; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 194. Numerous cases
are known of ships raided in the Tonga Islands between 1800 and 1810. [648]
Lockerby gives various examples of this: p. lxiii ff., 10 ff., 95 ff., 181 ff., [609]
200 ff.; cf. Mariner, p. 58 ff.

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

[1792-1965]

643 of this marriage would succeed his grandfather as George II in 1893
644 (Thomson 1894, p. 46; Gifford, p. 86). In his person the families of the *Tui Tonga* and the *Tui Kanokupolu* were joined. His daughter Salote (i.e. Charlotte) succeeded her father in 1918. Her husband, the prince-consort Tungi, was a descendant of the Haa Takalaua, so that in their son, who has been on the ancient throne of Tonga since 1965, the blood of all three great Tongan families is united (Koch, p. 108; Latukefu, p. 159 ff.).[13]

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

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APPENDIX

List of periods of government[14]

Tui Tonga.

1.	Paulaho	reigned till 1792.
2.	Maulupekotofa	1792—1806.
3.	Fuanunuiava	1806—1810.
4.	Laufilitonga	1810—1865.

Tui Haa Takalaua.

1.	Maeliuaki	reigned in 1777.	
2.	Fuatakifolaha	? — ?	(Gifford places him after no. 3)
3.	Mulikihaamea	1792—1800.	(No other T.H.T. is appointed after him).

Tui Kanokupolu.

1.	Tupoulahi	reigned in 1773.	
2.	Maeliuaki	reigned in 1777.	
3.	Tui Halafatai	? — ?	both are mentioned by Gifford.
4.	Tubou Lahisii	? — ?	
5.	Mulikihaamea	? —1792.	
6.	Tubou Moheofo	1792.	
7.	Mumui	1792—1797.	
8.	Tukuaho	1797—1799.	
9.	Maafuolimuola	1800.	
10.	Tubou Malohi	1800—1812.	
11.	Tubou Toa	1812—1820.	
12.	Josiah Tubou	1827—1833.	
13.	George Tubou	1833—1893.	
14.	George II	1893—1918.	
15.	Salote	1918—1965.	
16.	Taufaahau	1965———.	

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[114]

[13] According to Mr. Latukefu, p. 159, Salote was a great-granddaughter of the last *Tui Tonga*. However, according to our sources she was the great-granddaughter of a brother of the *Tui Tonga*.

[14] Maurelle, who called at the Tonga Islands in 1780, gives no information about the various rulers. He only met Paulaho on Vavau and gives a description of this monarch (p. 285 ff.).

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
OU9 Tonga OU9

131 the group, and a number of islets lying to the south and south-west
(103) of it. Rather more than fifty miles to the south is the Hapai
group, containing the high volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao on the
(133) west; on the east a chain of low, flat, coral islets; the Kotu group
in the centre; and on the south a number of isolated islands, the
largest of which is Nomuka. Some fifty miles to the south and
somewhat to the west of Nomuka lies Tongatabu, the largest island
of the group, measuring over twenty miles in its longest diameter.
(133) A channel about ten miles broad separates Tongatabu from the
small and high island of Eua to the south-east, while eighty-five
miles to the south-west lies the little island called Ata by the
natives, the Pylstaart of the charts, the most southerly outlier
of the Tonga Islands. (See Map on p. 594 and Pl. XXIII.)

Lying far to the north of the islands mentioned are Niuafou (=Good Hope, or Proby Island), Keppel, and Boscawen Islands, which, though politically belonging to Tonga, occupy an intermediate position between this group, Fiji, and Samoa.

133

III. Geological Characters of the Group.

According to the characters which they present, the Tonga Islands may be arranged in three divisions, viz.:—(*a*) purely volcanic islands; (*b*) islands formed of volcanic materials laid out beneath the sea, and since elevated, with or without a covering of reef-limestones; and (*c*) islands formed entirely of reef-limestones.

(a) *The Volcanic Islands.*

131 The purely volcanic islands form a line running parallel to the
133 long axis of the group, but a little to the west of it. The direction
of this line is approximately N.N.E. and S.S.W.

At the southern end is the little island of Ata or Pylstaart, which, judging from the extremely steep and rugged outline that it presents, may possibly be a member of this series. I have, however, merely seen a photograph of the island, and it can therefore only provisionally be reckoned a member of the volcanic series.

The islands of Honga-tonga and Honga-hapai, lying north of the west end of Tongatabu, are I believe the fragments of an old crater. They stand out of the sea about a mile and a half apart, and reach a height of some 300 and 200 feet respectively. Each island has a high vertical face on the side turned towards the other, and on all sides hard black layers of rock are seen alternating with softer ones, and slope away from a point situated between the two islands.

Fifteen miles to the north of these islands is the recently-formed volcanic mound named Falcon Island.

133 In the year 1867, H.M.S. 'Falcon' reported a shoal in the position
175 of the present island, and ten years later smoke was seen issuing
from the sea at this spot by H.M.S. 'Sappho.' In October 1885, a
submarine volcano suddenly burst into activity, and built up a

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
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133 175 mound. The volcano was still in eruption the following year. In 1887 the height was estimated as 290 feet by a French man-of-war; and from a sketch taken in that year, it appears that the summit of the island presented a rugged, uneven outline[*].

The 'Egeria' visited the island in Oct. 1889. In the four years that had elapsed since its formation, a large portion had been removed by the action of the sea. Only a part (perhaps one third) of the original wide-based mound remained. This was limited for half its circumference by a cliff which was highest in the middle (153 feet), where it faced south, and subsided gradually at either end. From the summit of the cliff the surface of the mound sloped evenly downwards until it reached the level of a wide flat marked by tidal ridges, which extended round that part of the circumference of the mound not limited by the cliff. Landslips from the cliff were of frequent occurrence at high water; as many as twelve were seen in one afternoon, and the ground round the edge of the cliff was traversed by concentric cracks, showing where slices had already become loosened preparatory to their descent. Capt. Oldham erected a line of cairns at equal distances, extending from the edge of the cliff—down the slope of the mound and over the flat—as a means of measuring the rate at which the island is reduced.

133 The mound consisted of layers of finely-divided volcanic ash. On the face of the cliff the layers were marked by the salts which had crystallized at the surface more abundantly in some than in others, and it might be seen that each layer was thickest at the highest part of the mound, and gradually thinned out towards the periphery.

Numbers of volcanic bombs were scattered over the slope of the mound, being largest and most numerous at the highest part. These appear to have been ejected at the close of the eruption, as none appeared in the cliff-section; and the even, unscored outline of the slope negatived the idea that they had accumulated at the surface by the removal of any considerable quantities of finer materials.

The lavas presented all stages of vesicular structure, and some of the bombs displayed a distinct spiral twist in the surface ridges.

Mr. Harker[†] has examined the lavas and finds that they are basic augite-andesites of specific gravity 2·708.

The temperature of the interior of the mound was still high at the time of our visit. In a hole 7 feet deep a thermometer rose to 100° Fahr., while it registered 77°·5 at the surface.

To the south of the island there was an extensive shallow area with 3 fathoms of water over it. It appears that this was, in part at least, occupied by that portion of the original mound which has

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013 [*] The above details are taken from an account of the island by Capt. Wharton, R.N., F.R.S., published in 'Nature' for Jan. 23, 1890 (pp. 276-278). This account is accompanied by figures and a map.

[†] Geol. Mag. for June, 1891, p. 250.

137 /12 cont./
241 of the island, left standing as a protection for the plantings.

174 Polynesians, probably coming from Samoa, reached this Archipelago 1000 to 1500 years ago, and settled many of its islands. All the Tonga Islands, from Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu in the north to 'Ata in the south, formed a kingdom headed by Tu'i Tonga. The [173] latter lost power after approximately 1470, when it passed over in part to collateral lines (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) of the 175 ruling family. A revolt in the year 1799 introduced a period of 177 civil-warlike confusion that did not end until 1852. At this time [669] European influences (5) has long since reached Tonga. For in the year 1616 Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou were discovered by Shouten and Le Maire, in 1643 Abel Janszon Tasman found 'Ata, 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Tofua and Kao, and from the year 1767 (Wallis) the Tonga Islands were increasingly visited by European ships. In 1795 the first whites settled in the [797] Archipelago, and the systematic missionary work in the island group began in the year 1826. At the end of the civil wars and after the 175 643 first quarter century of successful mission work, Chief Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai, who possessed certain rights to the ruling title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, headed the united Christian state of all Tonga Islands, as King George Tupou I. (6)

642 161 648 /13/ Today the Tonga Kingdom with a population of nearly 50,000 natives

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5. By "European" influences we mean, above all, West European influences, especially English and, related to these, Australian, New Zealand and North American influences.

[113] 6. A more detailed description of the development from 1616 to 1852 in G. Koch, Die Fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln /The early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/. Manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949.

/35 cont./

142 The soles of the feet of these natives who generally go barefoot are correspondingly thickly calloused, which enables them to slide down coconut palms they have climbed, or to snuff out a burning cigarette
147 without hesitation. The secretion of sweat is often considerable on hot-humid days.

142
[144] The common European conception of the beautiful and charming Polynesian men and women is approached only by a few mixed types (white father--Tongan mother) who combine the European more refined structure of body and face with the charms of these islanders. The Tongans themselves probably do not altogether live up to the European ideal of beauty. However, girls and boys at the age /36/ of ten or twelve can be definitely pretty and attractive to European eyes because the so often massive nose-lips section is not yet developed. Among the adult natives of both sexes there are also many attractive types.

142
● 175 From a comparison with the old accounts at our disposal (66) it is difficult to obtain complete clarity on the question: has there been a change in the physical appearance of the Tongans since the discovery of the Archipelage?

66. These descriptions are on the whole not specific enough, often not objective and idealized in their illustrations.

The observations of Cook and the two Forsters were made before the beginning of the growing European influence in Tonga. At that time G. Forster assumes the average size of the men is "five feet three inches to five feet ten inches," (67) and points out that these natives are "very well proportioned" and "fleshy." (68)

67. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325.

68. Idem., loc, cit. V. p. 151.

/36 cont./

142
175
[113]

J. R. Forster describes their figures as being "rather above than below average size." (69)

69. Johann Reinhold Forsters Bemerkungen über Gegenstände der physischen Erdbeschreibung /Johann Reinhold Forster's observations on objects of physical geography/ translated by Georg Forster, Berlin 1783. p. 209; see also W. Ellis, An authentic narrative of a voyage, /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1782. p. 91: "...exactly proportioned...The men are in general above the middle size..." /cited in English/.

Cook describes the hair of the Tongans in one instance as "strong, thick and straight," (70)

70. J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc, cit. VI. p. 279

another time as "very curly." (71)

71. In G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 325.

The Englishman who in general was a keen observer feels the wealth of types of this people even at that time when he writes: "Their features are very diverse, so that it is almost impossible to indicate their national physiognomy. A rather general trait is the roundness and fullness at the tip of the nose. However, we found hundreds of them with truly European faces and many genuine Roman noses." (72)

72. J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 274.

The "roundness and fullness at the tip of the nose" points--rather cautiously, to be sure--to the so often conspicuous, large Tongan nose. Cook also notices the various shades of skin color; (73)

73. Ibid., p. 274.

he indicates the average color as being "darker than copper brown," while G. Forster calls it "chestnut brown" (74)

74. G. Forster, loc, cit. V. p. 151.

/36 cont./

142 or "light chestnut brown." (75)

[175] 75. Idem., loc, cit. IV. p. 326.

These old accounts show, in any case, that an extensive change did not take place. However, we must take into account that limited changes in the physical appearance of the Tongan did take
142 place. /37/ The average Tongan type (insofar as we may speak of
144 one) probably remained essentially the same, and the present wealth of types, too, is in part original and can by no means be traced back to European influences. The last 300 years, especially the past decades, have, however, surely brought about a further differentiation. European blood admixtures to the third and fourth degree (and less) are numerically probably not low; for the association of European sailors with Tongan women, from the period of discovery, was mostly very considerable, (76)

[842] 76. See, for example, A. Montanus, loc. cit. p. 580; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 344. To this day Tongan women have shown little interest in birth control.

and there is, for example, a rather sizeable group of natives who know about their German grandfather or great-grandfather, although the German trading colony in Tonga was never very numerous. If the
144 official reports (numerically not always very reliable) give a
563 relatively small number of half-castes (77)

[113] 77. For example, Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951 /cited in English/ London 1952. p. 6, gives 580 half-castes among 48,460 "pure blooded" Tongans for 1951.

we must not forget that these are half-castes of the first degree (that is, with one Tongan parent and one non-Tongan parent). The children of these half-castes--and Tongan families often have a high

/38 cont./

164 Leprosy occurs only to a slight extent. (82)

> 82. In 1950, for example, nine cases were sent to the leprosy station in Makogai/Fiji (Report of the Medical Department...loc. cit. p. 8).

164
175 Since we have no intensive and complete observations from the past it is very difficult to give more details about the change that has taken place in diseases among the Tongans. In the old sources (83)

> 83. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc, cit. VI, p. 275; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage.../cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 264; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux loc, cit I. p. 320; Voyage pittoresque autour du monde /Picturesque voyage around the world/. Published by Dumont d'Urville. vol. II. Paris 1835. p. 75; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/. loc. cit. III. p. 33/34.

we do find skin deseases (probably especially frambesia), eye diseases, colds, consumption and elephantiasis mentioned as diseases that came to the attention of the early observers. Typical
164
177 European influences are probably the major /39/ influenza epidemics. The frequent occurrence of pneumonia is partly to be traced back to imported clothing, since the Tongans in all villages now also clothe the upper part of their bodies (shirts, blouses, dresses), and after rainfalls they usually do not change their wet things but let them dry on their bodies. Though pulmonary tuberculosis seems to be an old indigenous disease in Tonga, the low resistance and the apparently increasing number of diseases of the natives can very probably be regarded as a result of the change in their way of life (clothing, partly also food and dwelling) brought about by European
[262] contact. One result of European influence, specifically the somewhat changed diet, (84)

/66 cont./

597 because the family, for example, has no child or no small children or only children of one sex. It also happens that a child may one day like to remain in the house of its playmates and that it begs its parents to give their consent. The rather involuntary adoptive parents often do not object to having the burden of another eater whom they must also clothe, especially if the child is a help in the house.

592 184 565 The statements and accounts given above refer in each case to all village inhabitants. These are mostly commoners. However, nobles and commoners who have risen to respected positions (clergymen, administrative officials, teachers, traders) also live in those villages. Their households do not differ much from those of the rest of the commoners. For example, in 1952 the widower Malupo (in 'Uiha), one of the highest ranking chiefs (nopele) on Tonga, lived together with his daughter, his grandson, the latter's wife and their four children on a property that consists of a small wooden living (=sleeping house, a cook hut, a small bath house and a latrine hut. The structure of family and household in the urban seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu is also very similar to that described on the small islands.

178 (175) The old sources naturally do not give us exact data that permit detailed comparisons of present-day Tongan family life with that of pre-European times.

178 565 [595] [594] We can, however, see that in general no great change has taken place in the family life of commoners. For polygamy was practiced mostly in the upper classes, and in ancient Tonga, as today, lower class families consisted of husband, wife and children (also adopted children). (189)

189. Compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 15ff.

/107 cont./

> 621 of his customers, so that he is also
> 554 respected specifically for his
> 441 activity as merchant. The owner of another
> 178 retail shop in the same village has not
> been able to achieve a privileged position
> in the community on the basis of his
> occupation.

621 From the foregoing discussion it will be seen that in the
554 present-day village community of Tonga there is no generally valid
178 social ladder. An individual may obtain a respected position in
[177] various ways. The changes in the social structure brought about by
European influences have not caused a collapse of the old system, but
have introduced a slow, yet steady development which weakened the old
order in the community and brought new values. This process is not
[565] yet completed; very probably the importance of the nobles in Tonga
will decline even more, and intelligent and able individuals among the
population as a whole will, to an increasing extent, become the
influential ones--provided the nobles occupying key positions in the
government will not try to impede this development. The social change
in Tonga did not bring about a disruption of the community, since it
was merely a transition from an old order to an almost universally
acknowledged new order; people are now offering their old obedience,
and their old willingness to submit to new authorities, and the
aristocracy, largely for religious reasons, may have become accustomed
to the "God-ordained" new order.

C. The State

a) Government Development and Present Structure

642 The Tonga state underwent considerable changes as a result of
[177] European influence, specifically the Christianization of the
Archipelago.

[643]
[175] In ancient Tonga the state was centrally directed by the all-

/107 cont./

642 powerful and godlike Tu'i Tonga whose succession began around 950
643 A.D. with the legendary 'Aho'eitu. (298)

175 298. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 49 ff.

Around 1470, the 24th Tu'i Tonga granted one of his brothers important powers, resulting in the new line of Tu'i /108/ Ha'atakalaua. The Tu'i Tonga remained the supreme ruler, but it was inevitable that now his power gradually decreased. Around 1600 the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua transferred several of his offices to one of his sons who therewith began the second lateral line of the Tu'i Tonga with the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. The power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu increased very
(669) much in the next two centuries. In 1799, during a revolt of the powerful chiefs, the ruling Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho was assassinated, and there followed many years of civil-warlike disorders in the Archipelago.

643 Beginning in 1820, the capable and warlike chief Taufa'ahau of
797 Ha'apai achieved increasing power. (299)

(113) 299. See A.H. Wood, History and geography of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 43 ff.

In 1834 he was christened George (Siaosi) by the Wesleyan missionaries. After futile attempts of the London Mission Society (1797-1800) and of their own church (1822-1823), the Wesleyans began once more missionary activity on the Tonga Islands in the year 1826, this time with increasing success. It seems the missionaries recognized early the valuable assistance that Taufa'ahau (George) was able to give them, and the latter likewise felt cooperation with the missionaries useful. In 1845 Taufa'ahau (the grandson of Tuku'aho and son of the next-to-the-last Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a) was elected Tu'i Kanokupolu (George Tupou I). However, the Tongan chiefs, as a result of old disputes that were further compounded by influences of different missions, (300)

300. Beginning in 1842 the Catholic mission also

/284/

II. AN ATTEMPT TO INTERPRET THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENT

178 1. The General Course of Cultural Change in Tonga

177 Ancient Tongan culture grew naturally over a long period of history and was a well-balanced system that was taken for granted by all the individuals of this island and that met their various needs.

177 The cultural change in Tonga described in the preceding chapters is the result of the contact this native culture had with the more complex and active European culture.

During the influencing process the whites did not bring "European culture" as a unit to the Archipelago, but only parts of it, such as material goods, religion, democratic government reform, music.

Seen as a whole, these influences were not brought in a systematic and coordinated form. Europeans of very different types and often with opposing purposes established this contact: seafarers, run-away sailors, missionaries, traders, clerks, visitors and soldiers had, naturally, no common goal. Even today there is no unified plan for the further development of Tonga; however, the government does have the overall intent to bring the population culturally and economically (technically) up to a "modern" level and thus make the small kingdom a country that can hold its own in the midst of the European world.

175
177 The cultural change in Tonga did not by any means proceed at an even pace. Though the discovery of the Archipelago by Schouten and Le Maire in 1616 may have been exciting for the natives of the northern islands, it was, after all, only an encounter which was followed by other, similar visits of white seafarers over a long period of time. Neither at the beginning nor later on was there anything that would merit the designation "cultural impact." During the period from 1616 to 1826, chiefly material cultural assets were brought to the Archipelago, at first occasionally, later to an increaseing extent. For the Tongans

/284 cont./

175 these meant only the possession of supplementary or improved equipment.
177 /285/ No essential changes were created as a result of them, except
for the fact that iron was introduced and gained importance in Tongan
177 culture which had been without metal. European influences were very
much intensified, however, with the beginning of systematic missionizing
work in the Archipelago in 1826. In 1852 the Islands were Christianized.
In 1862 the democratized system of government received a special
constitution which, in 1875, was replaced by one fashioned on the
British model. During this development toward a Christianized,
constitutional kingdom, the material and spiritual influence or the
inhabitants steadily continued. Yet the pace of this process was never
too rapid nor were its effect too great since, because of the remoteness
and smallness of the island territory that had no riches worth
mentioning, there was never great interest concentrated on it by whites,
and the indifferent and conservative attitude of the Tongans also had
a deterring effect.

177 The cultural change in Tonga came about in various ways: In
797 particular, purposeful whites who brought about this contact (above all,
the missionaries, as well as officials and merchants) effected it by
destroying the old religion, "liberating" the commoners and importing
consumer goods on a large scale; but the ideas and the products of the
whites were also disseminated by the Tongans themselves, even as far as
the smallest island of the Archipelago. In some cases it was a matter
of a whole complex of changes, since the missionaries, for example, felt
obliged to change not individual aspects of Tongan life, but several
interrelated areas of their culture; thus they strove to obliterate the
power of the taboo along with the ancient Tongan religion, and to
replace the godlike chieftain system with its arbitrary power by a
177 Christian and democratic state with a proper judicial system. In
178

/301 cont./
175 discovered the most important islands. In 1792 he returned and
177 extended his discoveries. In 1793, D'Entrecateaux saw one of the
Fiji Islands, in 1794 Captain Barber touched the Archipelago. In
1797 Wilson, with the "Duff," passed through the group and in 1799
Captain Bentley caught sight of a few of the islands.

All these seafarers of the 17th and 18th centuries had scarcely
any contact, or none worth mentioning, with the natives; they had no
particular interest in this Archipelago with its dangerous reefs, and
their voyages had other goals. But then the situation changed abruptly.
175 During the early years of the 19th century sandalwood was discovered in
177 Fiji, and in one part of the Archipelago there was a considerable
439 onrush of ships, which, however, ceased after a decade when all the
wood had been cut down and carried away. But by that time some natives
had come into closer contact with Europeans. Seamen had traded with
the Fijians and, in order to earn their sandalwood, entire crews of
European ships finally took part in native conflicts. Shipwrecked
and run-away sailors entered the service of chiefs; throught their
help and introduction of muskets new powerful native states were
created in the decades that followed. A further result of this and
[164] later contacts was the spread of new diseases which, throughout the
[731] century caused appalling epidemics among the Fijians who did not yet
have sufficient immunity against them.

The sandalwood transporters were then followed by the ships of
whalers and American trepang-seekers, and at the beginning of the
thirties of the 19th century, traders settled on the shore of Levuka.
175 In 1835 the first white Wesleyan missionaries arrived, followed in 1844
177 by the Catholic Mission, and thereafter European influence gradually
797 began to spread over the entire Archipelago. As a result of the visits
of ships and the /302/ activity of "beachcombers" /cited in English/,

CHAPTER III

POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

Historical Development

174 The initial settlement of the Tonga Islands resulted from
southward migrations of Polynesians from Samoa, approximately 3,000
174 years ago (Green and Kelly 1931, p. 64). Pottery fragments and
161 ancient fortifications indicate that settlement was widespread and
that a prehistoric population of approximately 30,000 persons developed
within the islands (Green and Kelly 1931, p. 64; Maude 1965,
174 p. 27). Between this prehistoric period and European contact in
the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there elapsed sufficient
time for the population to have expanded beyond this level, even with
only a modest growth rate. This suggests that at some time during
this pre-European period, Tongan population stabilized at a level
175 reasonably in balance with the carrying capacity of the land. This
361 assumption is, in part, confirmed by the writings of Tasman in 1643,
and Cook in 1773, each of whom observed widespread settlement
throughout the islands. Concerning the island of Tongatapu, maps
and descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteen centuries indicate
only small scattered areas not included within a system of
native food producing plantations (Green 1973, p. 64).

It appears that the concept of village settlement did not exist in Tonga during this early period of European contact. Tasman

175 reported that individuals resided within private gardens, separated
361 from each other by fences, or such common boundaries as roads and
trails. Cook, more than a century later, reported a similar pattern
of settlement. Such accounts suggest that the island population
was relatively evenly distributed over most of the island
acreage. Towns, as defined today, were unfamiliar, the population
groupings being loosely clustered on land holdings of respective
chiefs (Kennedy 1958, p. 162).

178 During the eighteenth century, newer types of weapons were
721 introduced (i.e., the bow and arrow, and a modified throwing spear,
669 [177] from Fiji) and tribal fighting began within Tonga. What began as
[411] small scale conflicts gradually evolved into civil war which involved
361 all the Tongan islands. This period of warfare, which lasted until
178 the 1850s, effectively terminated the widespread house and garden
type of settlement (Kennedy 1958, p. 164). Replacing this traditional
722 system for a limited time was a settlement pattern in which
361 most people resided within fortified structures. The war also
722 disrupted the garden agricultural system, owing to frequent raids
241 from neighboring tribes. As a result, treaties were formulated
between two or more fortified groups, whereby land was guarded,
planted, and harvested in common (Kennedy 1958, p. 64).

178 With the close of the civil war period (1799-1852), which
643 lasted for more than a half century, the three principal island
groups comprising the Tongas were unified under the rule of
178 Taufau'ahau (Tupou I). However, the end of hostilities did not
361 signal a return to the traditional house and garden settlement

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

VI.—*Brief Geographical Sketch of the Friendly Islands, with an Account of the Visit of H.M.S. Meander, Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, to the Island of Tongatabu, June,* 1850. By O. W. Brierly, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Read December 8, 1851.

The *Friendly Islands.*—The Friendly or Tonga Islands consist 131
of three separate groups, and are situate in the Pacific, between 18° and 23° S. latitude, and 173° and 176° W. longitude.

There are said to be in all more than 150 islands; 15 of which 133
rise to a considerable height, 35 are moderately elevated, and the rest are low.

The most southern group (the Tongatabu Islands) was discovered by Tasman in 1643. 175
The Island of Tongatabu is the largest of these, and is about 20 miles long by 10 wide at its broadest part. The general surface of the island, with the exception of a few hillocks varying from 30 to 40 feet in height, is nearly a dead level; the highest part of the island is a small mount about 60 feet above the level of the sea on the northern side.

The Central, or Haabai Group, is composed of a considerable number of small islands, the most populous being Lifuka, about 8 or 9 miles long by 4 broad. The islands of this group are very fertile, some of them are low, others are of considerable height, and among the latter are Tofua and Kao. Tofua has an active volcano.

The Vavau Islands form the most northern group, and are somewhat larger and higher than the Haabai Islands. Vavau is a fine island, about 36 miles in circumference; its surface is uneven, and on the northern side it rises to considerable elevation.

The climate of the Friendly Islands is humid, and the heat 132
rather oppressive, rising frequently to 98° in the shade. Much rain falls periodically. The trade winds are not constant, and westerly winds occasionally blow in every season.

Very heavy dews fall at night, and the transitions from heat to cold are very sudden. Hurricanes are frequent, scarcely a season passing without them. The months of February and March are those in which they occur, but they have been known to take place in November and December.

The storms begin at N.W., going round to the E., and ending in S.E.; the wind continues to increase until it becomes a hurricane, and is frequently observed to change almost immediately from one point to the opposite. In the same group of islands trees have fallen during one gale, some to the S. and others to the N.
Earthquakes are also frequent. 133